HISTORY OF DRAG

Social change from the stage to the streets

WHERE'S THE NAZI GOLD?

Searching for Europe's stolen wealth

ALL ABOUT HISTORY

™

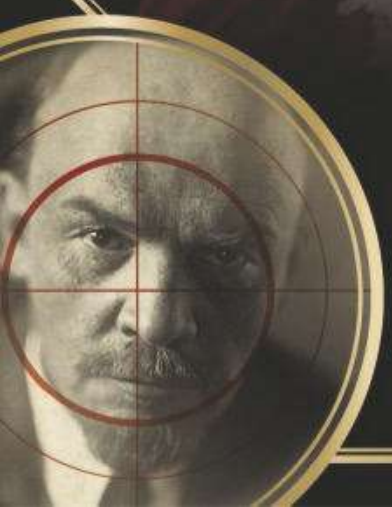
HOW TEA CHANGED THE WORLD

SLAVE TO STATESMAN

The making of abolitionist hero Frederick Douglass

ENGLAND'S TYRANT KING CHARLES

Did his lust for power lead to bloody civil war and doom his throne?



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The moment the Russian Revolution nearly ended

FUTURE

ISSUE 101

LOST KNOWLEDGE OF THE ANCIENTS

What was really destroyed at Alexandria's Library?

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HMS Victory
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Charles led on his way to be executed on 30 January 1649

Welcome

If history is written by the victors, can we trust that the villains were really as wicked as stories remember? I think we challenge this old adage of history with some regularity in **All About History**, but the case of Charles I and the English Civil War is a particularly complex example.

Depending on your point of view, there are villains to find everywhere in this story and perhaps very few heroes, but as the king who was ultimately executed, Charles I stands out. Was he the tyrant the parliamentarians believed? Was his need to rule by the divine right of kings all consuming? Can the regicide committed be justified? We hope to answer these questions and more in our lead feature.

Also this issue we go looking for the Nazi gold that was accumulated through conquest and theft, learn about the rise of abolitionist hero and statesman Frederick Douglass, try to uncover the true story of the Library of Alexandria and ponder what might have happened if a plot to assassinate Bolshevik leader Lenin had succeeded in Russia. Plus, with it being LGBTQ+ history month in the UK, we look at the fascinating history of Drag and its impact on both entertainment and civil rights.

As ever I hope you enjoy the issue, and don't forget to download your free ebook and wallpapers. You can learn more about that on the next page.

Jonathan Gordon
Editor

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ALL ABOUT HISTORY
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Cover images
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Printed by Wyndeham Peterborough, Storey's Bar Road, Peterborough, Cambridgeshire, PE1 5YS

Distributed by Marketforce, 5 Churchill Place, Canary Wharf, London, E14 5HU www.marketforce.co.uk Tel: 0203 787 9060
ISSN 2052-5870

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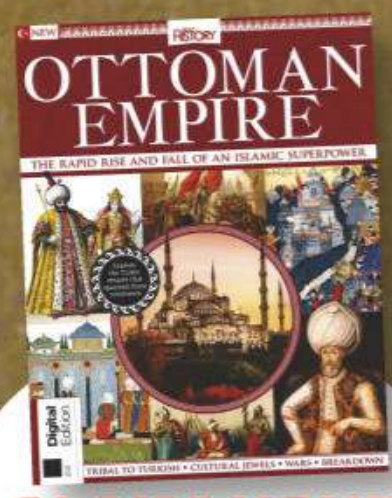
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Charles I

His reign tore apart a nation, but how much blood is on his hands?

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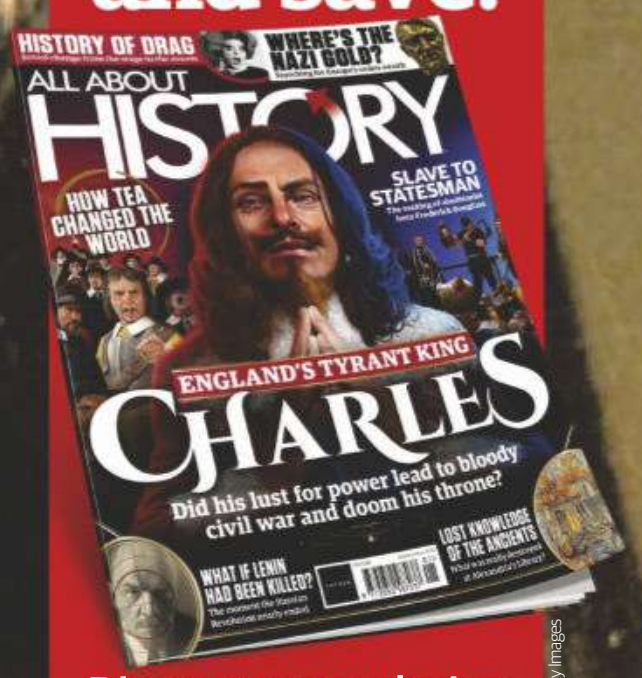
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LOST KNOWLEDGE OF THE ANCIENTS

Discover our exclusive offer for new readers on page 24

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Defining Moments

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22-25 February 1986

THE PEOPLE POWER REVOLUTION

Following three days of popular, nonviolent demonstrations in the Philippines, President Ferdinand Marcos fled the country after two decades in power, ending his totalitarian rule. He was succeeded by Corazon Aquino, the first female president, who restored democracy in the Philippines. She is pictured here waving to supporters during a rally alongside her running mate, Salvador Laurel.

12 March 1930

GANDHI BEGINS THE SALT MARCH

In protest against the British salt monopoly in India, Mahatma Gandhi led a 24-day march from the Sabarmati Ashram to the village of Dandi, travelling around 20km per day. When he finally arrived in Dandi, he broke the British laws by collecting salt from the shore. He is pictured here during the march accompanied by his followers, with thousands of people joining them along the way.

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ALL ABOUT TEA

From its ancient origins to drinking tea in the trenches, learn about the deep history of this simple beverage

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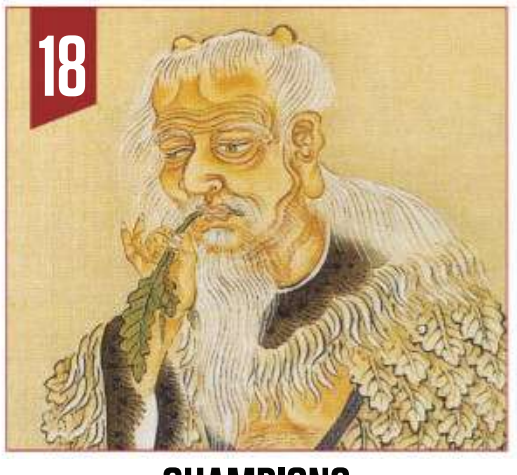
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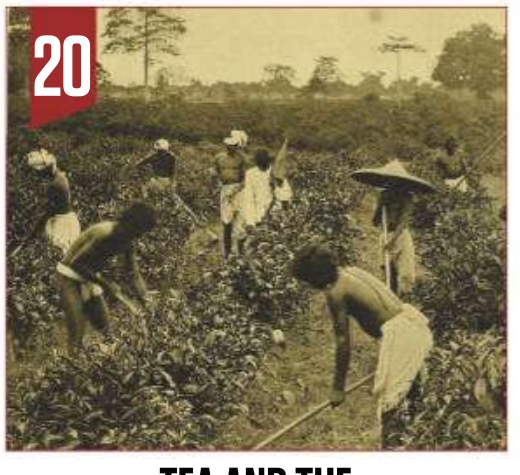

20 TEA AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE

Main image source: © Getty Images

Written by Jessica Leggett, Murray Dahm, Katharine Marsh, Melanie Clegg

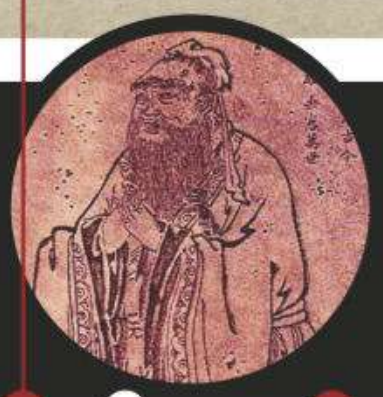
Key Events

Tea (Camellia sinensis) is an evergreen shrub probably native to northern Myanmar or southwestern China.

TEA IS INVENTED 2737 BCE

According to Chinese legend Shennong, the 'divine farmer', brews the first cup of tú (meaning 'bitter vegetable'). Shennong teaches the Chinese about agriculture and the cultivation and use of various herbs. He also invents the plow, hoe, calendar and acupuncture.

Image source: wiki/Chester Beatty Library



POET-TEA
11th-7th century BCE

Tea appears in the *Shijing* ('*Book of Songs*') poetry collection of 305 poems, possibly compiled by Confucius.

INTO EUROPE
1545

Tea, called chá or chai, is mentioned for the first time in Europe by Venetian writer Giovanni Battista Ramusio in his *Navigations and Travels*.

THE FIRST ENGLISH TEA
1615

Richard Wickham, of the East India Company in Japan, writes to Macao requesting the "best sort of chaw". An English writer sees tea being brewed in Fujian in 1637.

11th century BCE — 1545 — 1609

A NEW SIGN FOR TEA
121 CE

Scholar Xu Shen includes the seal script for 'tea' in the *Shuowen Jiezi* dictionary, presented to the Han emperor, An (r.106-125), by his son.

TEA IN RUSSIA 1567

Russia is introduced to tea when Cossack leaders visit China. Weights of tea are exchanged between Mongolian khans and Russian tsars into the 17th century.

THE TANG OF TEA
762 CE

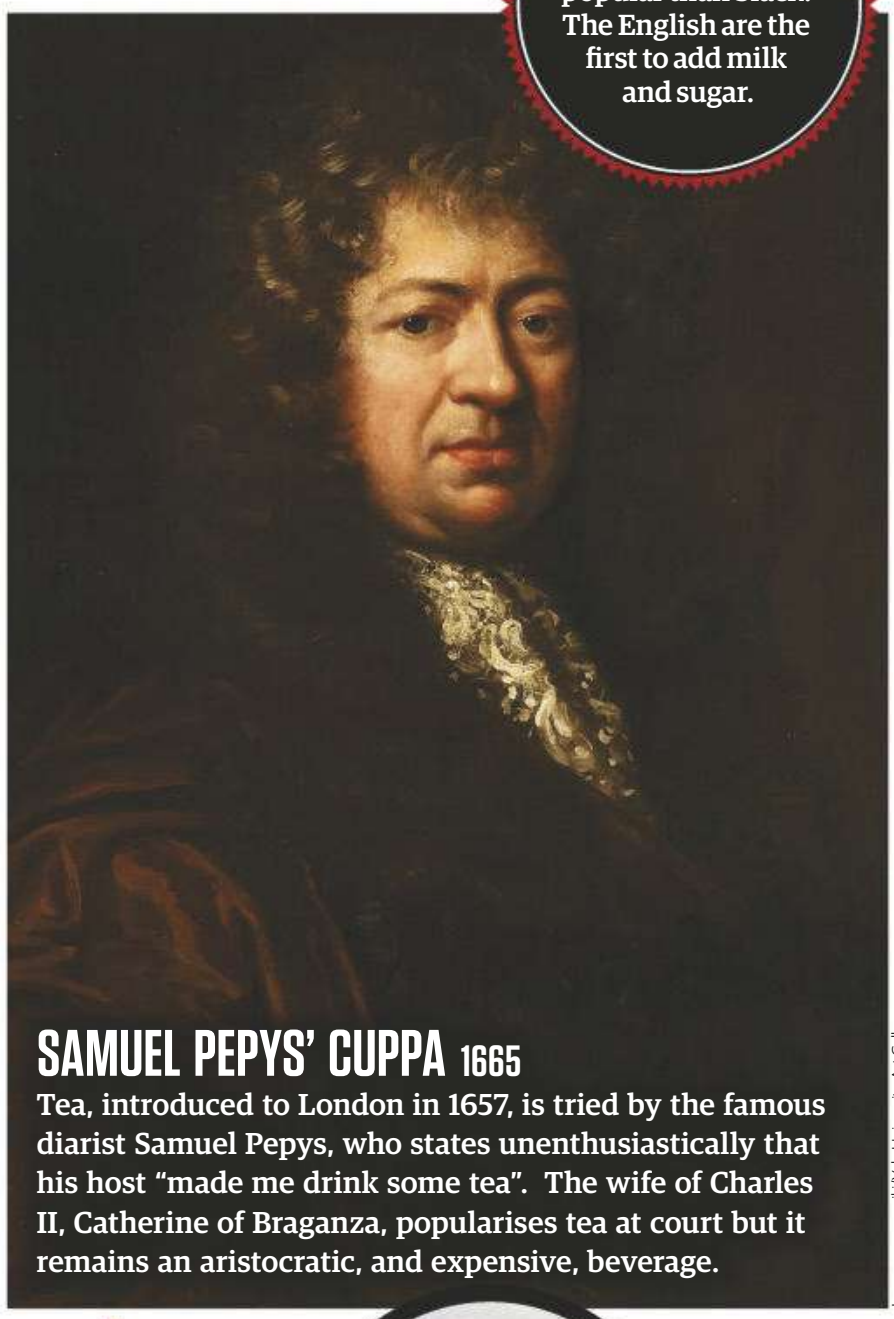
In Tang Dynasty China, the popularity of tea spreads to Korea, Japan and Vietnam. Believed to make you 'think better', tea becomes the subject of works of literature such as *The Classic of Tea* by Lu Yu written this year.

Image source: wiki/Peter K Burian

DUTCH IMPORT TEA INTO EUROPE 1609

The Dutch East India Company imports tea to Europe for the first time, from Hirado in Japan. The drink becomes popular in The Hague and the Dutch spread the popularity of tea to Germany, France, and their colony in the Americas, New Amsterdam.

Image source: wiki/New York Public Library, Digital Gallery



Until the 1720s green tea was more popular than black. The English are the first to add milk and sugar.

SAMUEL PEPYS' CUPPA 1665

Tea, introduced to London in 1657, is tried by the famous diarist Samuel Pepys, who states unenthusiastically that his host "made me drink some tea". The wife of Charles II, Catherine of Braganza, popularises tea at court but it remains an aristocratic, and expensive, beverage.

Image source: wiki/Yale University Art Gallery

TEA IN THE TRENCHES 1914

Tea is an essential part of British and Commonwealth soldiers' rations in WWI and WWII. It's a familiar flavour of home and disguises the taste of water often transported in petrol tins. Tea is also essential for softening the troops' hardtack biscuits.

© Alamy

OPIUM WAR 1839-42

The British East India Company trades opium with China in return for tea. The widespread use of opium sees it banned by the Chinese, leading to several wars.

TEA FINDS A NEW HOME 1953

Tea Board India launches a massive advertising campaign to popularise tea in India. It is immensely successful, and tea supplants coffee and milk as the most popular drink.

Image sources: wiki/i.pinimg.com , wiki/ Martin Falbisoner, wiki/ The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, wiki/Massachusetts Institute of Technology, wiki/ Vikramjit Kakati

1773 — 1841 — 1914

TEA IN INDIA 1841

To break the Chinese monopoly on tea production, the British East India Company begins growing tea in Darjeeling, and the distinctive Darjeeling tea is grown there from 1856.

DIRECT TRADE WITH CHINA 1843

Tea is brought to Britain direct from China for the first time. Plants are transported and grown all over the British Empire.

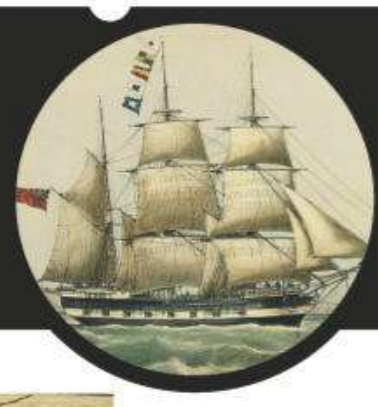
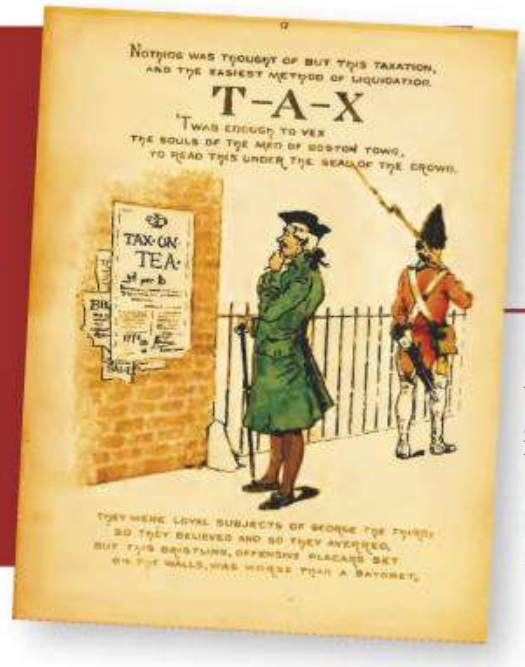


Image sources: wiki/Richard Sears, wiki/ Russian Musuem, wiki/MichaelJanich, wiki/RoyalMuseumsGreenwich

THE TEA ACT 1773

A huge smuggling trade in tea in the 18th century makes it available to all in Britain and the American colonies. This, and the growing stockpile of East India tea, leads to the ending of the tax on tea, also eliminating the smuggling trade.


NOTHING WAS THOUGHT OF BUT THIS TAXATION,
AND THE EASIEST METHOD OF LIQUIDATION.
T-A-X
'TWAS ENOUGH TO VEX
THE SOULS OF THE MEN OF BOSTON TOWN,
TO READ THIS UNDER THE SEAL OF THE CROWN.
TAX ON TEA
THEY WERE LOYAL SUBJECTS OF GEORGE THE THIRD
SO THEY BELIEVED AND SO THEY AVERRED,
BUT THIS BRIGHTLINE, OFFENSIVE PLACARD SET
ON THE WALLS, WAS HORRID FOUR A BAYONET.

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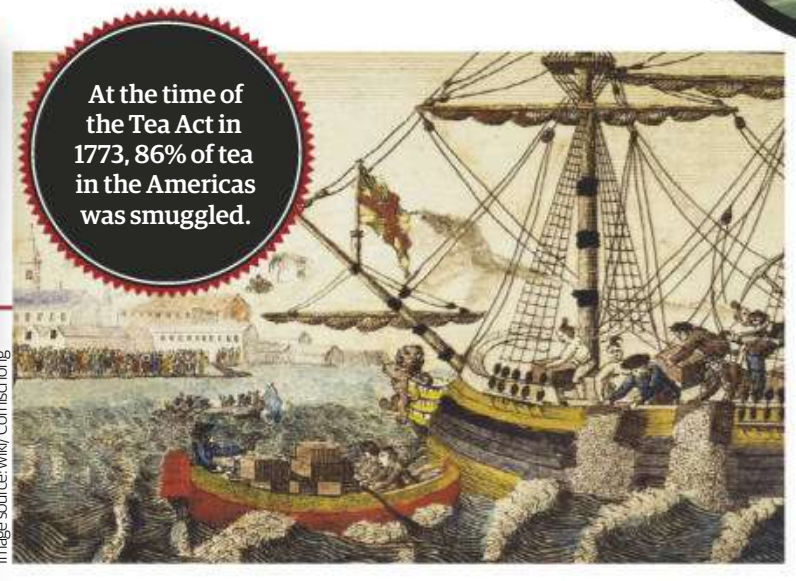


At the time of the Tea Act in 1773, 86% of tea in the Americas was smuggled.

Image source: wiki/ Cornischong

THE BOSTON TEA PARTY 1773

Colonists in America are angered that the Tea Act allows the East India Company to sell tea tax-free in the Americas. They board its vessels in Boston and dump shipments of tea overboard. This is one of the events that leads to the American Revolution.

Inside History

CHASHITSU

Japan
16th century – present

A chashitsu is a traditional tea house or room specifically constructed for the Japanese tea ceremony, known as chanoyu or chadō. It's designed so that only four or five people can be accommodated at a time, creating an intimate setting for the ceremony. Every aspect of the chashitsu, such as the layout of the room, the objects inside and even the surrounding garden, are essential for creating a peaceful space that helps participants in the tea ceremony to step away from the world outside.

The foundations of the tea ceremony, a ritual that involves preparing and drinking matcha, a powdered green tea, were first established in the 12th century, when Japanese priest Myōan Eisai returned from China, bringing with him the Rinzai school of Zen Buddhism and tea seeds. By the following century tea had become politically and socially important, with the aristocracy and samurai taking part in extravagant tea-drinking parties to demonstrate both their power and their knowledge of the beverage.

With the influence of Zen Buddhism, these tea parties eventually developed into a more refined spiritual process that took place in the chashitsu, spearheaded by influential tea masters such as Sen no Rikyū in the 16th century. And it was around this period that tea became popular across all levels of society.

Each tea ceremony is meant to be an experience, from the guests to the decorations, that is unique. There are also many different types of ceremonies depending on the season, time of day or occasion, ranging from informal to formal. An immersive experience that's performed through a series of choreographed movements requiring focus, hosting a tea ceremony is an art form that takes several years of study to perfect. Many of the schools of Japanese tea ceremony are influenced by Rikyū's teachings.

SIMPLE DESIGN
Japanese tea houses are traditionally painted in a neutral colour palette, such as beige or cream. This combined with the raw materials used in the tea house creates an open and tranquil space. Overall, the decoration is kept to a minimum, with only the tokonoma drawing attention with its typical display of a chabana and a kakemono.

RO
Built into the tatami floor of the tea room is the ro, a square sunken hearth that's located next to the host's tatami mat. It's used to heat up the water in the kama, an iron kettle, for the tea during the winter months. It's covered up in the summer, when a portable stove called a furo is used.

TATAMI
The floor of the tea room is covered with tatami, soft mats made with woven rice straw covered in a soft rush and edged with cloth, which is a traditional form of flooring in Japan. These mats are very delicate and shoes can't be worn inside the room.

TSUKUBAI
The tsukubai is a stone washbasin located outside in the roji for guests to wash their hands before entering the tea house. As another gesture of humility, guests have to crouch down and use a small bamboo ladle to pour the water onto their hands.

SHOJI

The lattice-framed windows and sliding doors are called shoji. They're covered in a translucent white paper that diffuses the natural light entering the room, and allows guests to hear the sounds of nature outside. Shoji are designed to slide smoothly and quietly so as not to disturb the harmony in the room.

KAKEMONO

Also known as a kakejiku, a kakemono is a vertical hanging scroll that's displayed in the tokonoma, made from either paper or silk and mounted on rollers. The image on a kakemono, typically a piece of calligraphy, a painting or sometimes both, is specifically chosen to suit the season, time of day or theme of the tea ceremony.

TOKONOMA

A tokonoma is a recessed alcove inside a tea room, typically a few inches above the floor, and it's considered to be an essential element of Japanese architecture. A focal point of the room, it is used for displaying flower arrangements, scrolls, pictures and ornaments, which are changed in accordance with the seasons or for celebrations.

CHABANA

The chabana is a flower arrangement that is displayed within the tokonoma during the tea ceremony, typically using seasonally available flowers. They are deliberately arranged so that they appear natural, allowing guests to appreciate their simple beauty. It is derived from the traditional style of Japanese flower arranging called ikebana, which is more elaborate than chabana.

NIJIRIGUCHI

The nijiriguchi is the small, square sliding door used by guests to enter the tea house. It is deliberately designed for guests to crawl through, requiring them to bow their heads and crouch down to enter – a humble gesture intended to inspire humility as well as symbolise equality.

ROJI

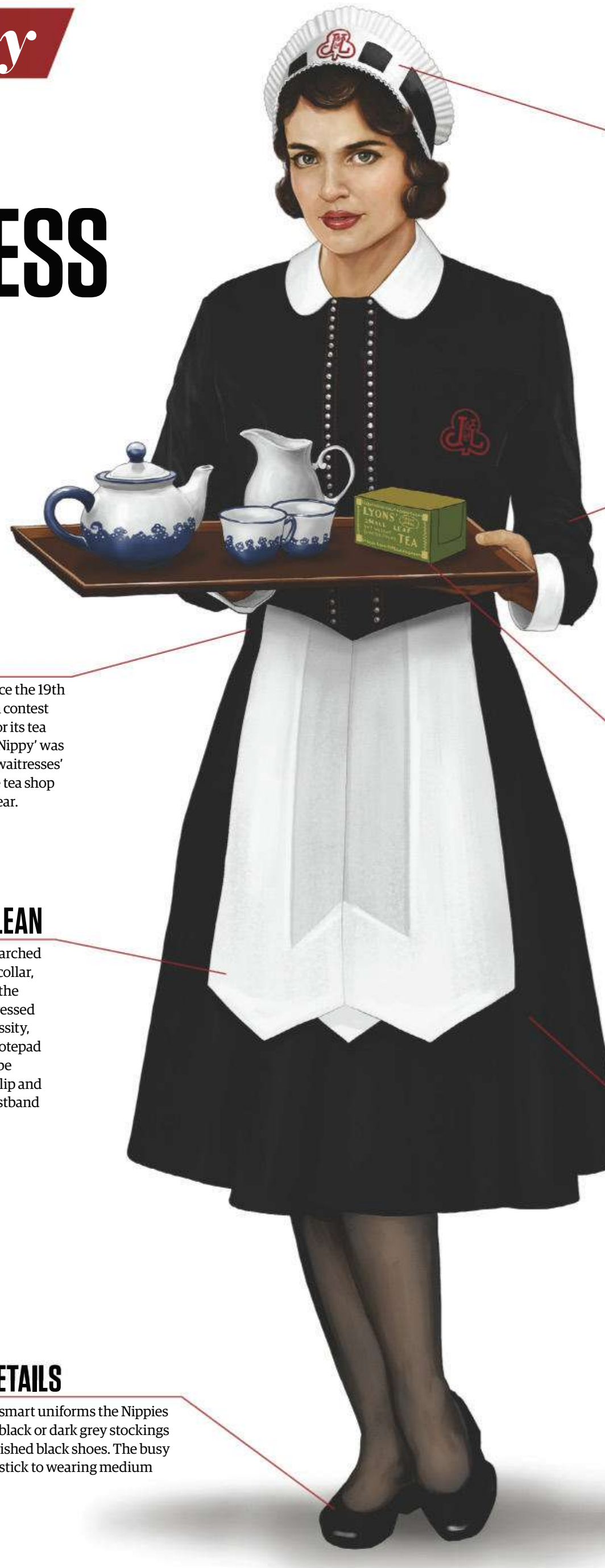
The roji, a tea garden, is an important part of the Japanese tea house. It is designed to be both simple and peaceful, setting the tone for the tea ceremony as guests have to walk through the roji in order to reach the tea house. It is common for the roji to feature stepping stones that lead up to the nijiriguchi, with a bigger stepping stone helping guests to crawl through the entrance.

Illustration by: Adrian Mann

Anatomy

NIPPY WAITRESS

London
1925-1950s



COMPANY BADGE

All Nippy waitresses had to wear a starched white cap with a black ribbon, and bobbed hairstyles were allowed for the first time. A red 'JL' monogram was embroidered in the centre of the cap, in reference to J. Lyons & Co, and the same monogram was also sewn onto the dress.

UPDATED UNIFORM

The new uniforms for Nippies were designed in 1925 and were made-to-measure for each waitress. The black alpaca dresses had a double row of pearl buttons sewn in with red thread, with skirts that finished just below the knee – shorter than the previous uniforms, which finished at the ankle.

UNIQUE NICKNAME

After using the name 'Gladys' since the 19th century, J. Lyons & Co launched a contest in 1924 to find a new nickname for its tea shop waitresses. The nickname 'Nippy' was likely chosen in reference to the waitresses' ability to 'nip' quickly around the tea shop – it was first used the following year.

EFFICIENT SERVICE

Nippy waitresses were rarely without a tea tray complete with a teapot, cup and saucer, milk jug and, of course, some Lyons tea. Representing the J. Lyons & Co brand meant that the women were expected to be pleasant, reliable and proficient, and have a good memory.

CRISP AND CLEAN

Nippies wore white starched cuffs and a Peter Pan collar, which was sewn into the dress. A clean, well-pressed apron was also a necessity, worn at the waist. A notepad and pen would often be hung with a bulldog clip and secured from the waistband on a thin chain.

HOUSEWIFE IN TRAINING

A career as a Nippy waitress was considered to be good preparation for marriage, with Lyons claiming that Nippies married at higher rates than other working class girls. In fact, it was even reported by the magazine *Picture Post* in 1939 that Nippies frequently found their husbands among their regular customers.

ELEGANT DETAILS

To finish off their smart uniforms the Nippies would wear plain black or dark grey stockings as well as well-polished black shoes. The busy waitresses would stick to wearing medium heels for comfort.

Illustration by: Kevin McGivern

Historical Treasures

TEA SERVICE

Serving up one of Russia's most popular beverages
St Petersburg, Russia, 1887-96

Some of the world's earliest known use of tea service sets dates back to the Han Dynasty (206 BCE – 220 CE), with the teapot apparently invented sometime around the Song Dynasty (960-1279). In Europe, they became popular following the arrival of tea in the 17th century. Porcelain tea bowls were imported from China, with handles eventually added during the 18th century.

The House of Fabergé, which famously created elaborate Easter eggs for the ill-fated Romanov royal family, produced this particular tea service shown below. It's often stated that the Cossacks were the first to encounter tea during the 16th century before Mongolian ruler Khan Altyn offered it to Vassily Starkoff, the Russian envoy at his court, as a gift for Tsar Michael I in 1638. However, Starkoff was reportedly unimpressed when he tried the tea and he rejected the gift. Instead, it's possible that tea became available in Russia when trade with China was opened up, for example when the Treaty of Nerchinsk was signed by Peter the Great in 1689.

Just as in many Asian countries, Russia initially adopted tea as a medicine until the European trend of tea drinking made its way over. Soon enough, drinking tea sweetened with sugar became popular among the Russian aristocracy as a way to demonstrate their wealth. By the end of the 18th century the beverage was served in tea sets inspired by the ones used in Europe. As tea was an expensive commodity, it was not until the mid-19th century that tea drinking grew popular among the masses in Imperial Russia.

Unlike in Europe, the Russians preferred to consume tea at home rather than in coffeehouses or other public venues. In the mid-18th century, samovars – metal urns for boiling water – became an indispensable part of any Russian home, placed at the centre of the table when it was time for tea. Today, tea is an integral part of Russian life, with tea ceremonies that can last for hours. Less formal than it sounds, family and friends gather together for the ceremony to enjoy conversation over cups of tea and a variety of sweet and savoury food.

PERSONAL PREFERENCE
This tea service has two pots, one for tea and one for hot water. The teapot would have contained strong black tea that was served first, and then guests could dilute it to suit their taste using the hot water.

SKILLED CRAFTSMEN
The creation of this tea service is attributed to silversmith Feodor Ivanovich Rückert and his craftsmen who worked for Fabergé. Rückert was known for his designs that mixed traditional Russian style and folk art with abstract Art Nouveau motifs.

JAM (VARENYE) BASKET
An important part of this tea service is the jam basket, with jam being an essential part of Russian tea tradition. It's common to add a spoonful or two of fruit jam or preserve to a cup of tea to sweeten it instead of using sugar.

VIBRANT COLOURS
The decoration on this tea service was achieved using cloisonné enamel. This a technique that involves filling metal lines with coloured material – in this case, glass powders – before the objects are fired to create a high-gloss finish.

Image source: Cleveland Museum of Art

CHAMPIONS OF TEA

Tea is one of the most popular drinks in the world thanks to the explorations, innovations and experiments of these ten people

Catherine Cranston
Scottish, 1849-1934

Catherine Cranston hired Scottish designer Charles Rennie Mackintosh to design her famous Willow Tea Rooms in Glasgow. They opened for business in 1903 and are the only one of Cranston's tea rooms still in existence.

The daughter of a successful Scottish baker and restaurateur, Catherine Cranston was born and raised in Glasgow, where her father owned a popular hotel. After her older brother Stuart became a tea merchant, she founded a chain of tea rooms in Glasgow – this proved a boon to the strong local temperance movement that eschewed public houses. At the time, tea was habitually only drunk at home but Miss Cranston's tea rooms transformed the taking of tea into a pleasant and decorous social activity that could be enjoyed by anyone – especially women, who previously had very few public places where they could meet and socialise.

MARGUERITE DE LA SABLIÈRE FRENCH, 1640-93

Well-known as one of the most accomplished and intellectual women in Paris, Madame de la Sablière is credited with being the first person to add milk to her tea, which had previously always been drunk without. It's said she first did this in order to protect her precious porcelain cups from the hot liquid, and the habit was unusual and noteworthy enough at the time for her friend Madame de Sévigné to mention it in one of her celebrated letters.

6x © Alamy

SHENNONG CHINESE

The origins of the legendary Chinese emperor Shennong, whose name means 'Divine Farmer', have long since been lost in the mists of time, despite the numerous attempts by historians and archaeologists to discover whether or not he was a real person. According to legend, Shennong can be credited with the invention of many significant aspects of Chinese life and culture, including the cultivation and drinking of tea, particularly for medicinal purposes. It is said that he perished as the result of poisoning himself during one of his many experiments.

© Getty Images

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk
Turkish, 1881-1938

Coffee, formerly the preferred hot beverage in Turkey, became extremely expensive and difficult to find after World War I and the fall of the Ottoman Empire. As a result, the Turkish leader Mustafa Kemal Atatürk promoted the drinking of tea, which was cheaper and did not require importation as it could be grown in Turkey. Tea quickly became the new favourite drink of the Turkish people and remains an important part of everyday Turkish culture.

Atatürk's rise to power began after he played an important role in the Turkish victory at Gallipoli during World War I. He is nowadays regarded as the founding father of the modern Republic of Turkey.

LU YU CHINESE, 733-804

Known as the Sage of Tea, the Chinese writer Lu Yu developed his extensive knowledge of tea while studying at a remote monastery, where he experimented with different ways of brewing tea leaves and found that the quality of water made a huge difference. After finishing his studies, he worked on his book *The Classic of Tea*, which was published around 760 and is regarded as the first definitive work about the beverage.

Image source: wiki/gongu

JEONG YAK-YONG KOREAN, 1762-1836

Jeong Yak-yong, also commonly known by his pen-name Dasan, was a renowned scholar who developed a passion for preparing and drinking tea, as well as growing tea leaves, while in exile. He even promoted the drink and taught the tea ceremony to his disciples, which led to a revival of tea drinking in 19th-century Korea. He was also a close friend of Uisun, the Korean Buddhist Zen master who is often referred to as the 'Father of Korean Tea.'

Catherine of Braganza
Portuguese, 1638-1705

The only daughter of John IV of Portugal, Catherine of Braganza was married at the age of 23 to England's Charles II, who had been restored to the throne two years earlier. The shy Catherine had very limited influence at court, where her husband's mistresses dominated, but she was nonetheless popular with the people. Braganza is fondly remembered by the British thanks to the role she played in popularising the daily social drinking of tea, which was considered to be a rather unusual beverage before her arrival in the country.

© GettyImages

As well as tea, Braganza is also credited with introducing to Britain a number of fine goods like porcelain, cotton, lacquered woods and cane furniture.

ROBERT FORTUNE
SCOTTISH, 1812-80

The botanist and explorer Robert Fortune began his career in his native Scotland before moving to England to work for the Horticultural Society of London. It commissioned him to undertake a three-year expedition to China in order to gather plant samples, including some varieties of tea, which was forbidden to leave China. Over the following two decades Fortune frequently travelled to China, where he disguised himself as a Chinese merchant and broke local laws in order to acquire tea plants. These were then cultivated in India in the East India Company's plantations by Chinese tea specialists that he had persuaded to work for the British.

ANNA RUSSELL, DUCHESS OF BEDFORD
ENGLISH, 1783-1857

The eldest daughter of noted tea lovers the earl and countess of Harrington, Anna Russell, Duchess of Bedford, grew up around tea and has been credited with the invention of that most British of social rituals, the afternoon tea, which she created while staying at Belvoir Castle with her friend, the duke of Rutland. Finding the lengthy gap between luncheon and dinner extremely inconvenient, the duchess arranged to have tea, sandwiches and cakes served mid-afternoon. She enjoyed this so much that she continued to take afternoon tea after returning to London, inviting her friends to join her.

Archibald Campbell
Scottish, 1805-1874

When the Scottish doctor and member of the Bengal Medical Service, Archibald Campbell, was promoted to the position of first superintendent of Darjeeling in north-east India in 1840, he began to experiment with tea cultivation, using camellia sinensis seeds from elsewhere in India. His efforts resulted in the creation of Darjeeling tea, which is now one of the most popular blends in the world. Such was Campbell's renown that the magnolia campbellii flower (right), found in the region, is named after him.

Image source: wiki/ Cathcart, John Fergusson

Q&A with...

PROFESSOR ERIKA RAPPAPORT

Sit back with a brew and learn how tea became an integral part of the British Empire

When did tea become a mass commodity in Britain?

This is actually not an easy question because we don't have very accurate statistics until the mid-19th century. This was especially true because so much tea was smuggled in the 18th century. One estimate, for example, suggests that in the 1740s about 20,000 smugglers along the Sussex coast 'imported' 3,000,000lb of tea every year. By the 1770s, the government suppressed the trade because it was so large, well-financed and heavily armed. It's likely that fewer Britons had access to cheap tea then until the 1830s when the East India Company's monopoly gave way to a free trade in tea. So really changes in the trade led to a drop in prices and a growth of consumption.

The British were drinking tea imported from China from the mid-18th to the late-19th century. Why did the British want to cultivate their own source of tea?

This is a story about trade imbalances and diplomatic tensions. The British began contemplating producing their own tea within British India as early as the 1770s, but the East India Company made so much money from the trade with China that they actually discouraged developing such an industry. At the same time, the Chinese guarded knowledge of tea production very carefully and made it illegal to export tea seeds or plants. They also had no interest in buying British-made products in exchange for tea, accepting only silver. The British offset this drain on silver with Indian opium, creating instability in China. As China tried to cut off the opium, the two countries went to war, and Britons feared they would soon cut tea supplies as well. This would make a great many Britons angry with their government, but it would have also limited government income, since the tax on tea was high enough to support the entire cost of the navy. In other words, the British Empire needed tea and tea drinkers and they feared this need would make them utterly dependent on China.

Erika Rappaport is professor of history at University of California, Santa Barbara. She is the author of *Shopping for Pleasure: Women in the Making of London's West End* (Princeton University Press, 2000) and co-editor of *Consuming Behaviours: Identities, Politics and Pleasure in Twentieth Century Britain* (Bloomsbury, 2015).

BELOW A Lipton's Tea advert from 1900

BY SPECIAL APPOINTMENT
TO HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN
LIPTON'S TEAS
ONE OF LIPTON'S TEA-GARDENS CEYLON
DIRECT FROM THE GARDENS
LIPTON TEA PLANTER CEYLON
Finest the World can produce 1/7 Per Pound.
Rich, Pure & Fragrant 1/- & 1/4 Per Pound
LARGEST SALE IN THE WORLD
APPRECIATED EVERYWHERE
For their Delicious Flavour
LIPTON
FROM SUNNY CEYLON.
CHIEF OFFICES:- CITY ROAD, LONDON.
Branches and Agencies throughout the World.

©Alamy

Was tea a significant factor in the British annexation of Assam in northeast India?

Yes, tea and colonialism were intimately connected in Assam. The British had had little contact with this region in the 18th century, though they imagined it could provide access to China (and hence tea). But they only determined to annex the region once soldiers discovered 'wild' tea growing in Upper-Assam. This occurred as they were fighting the Burmese Empire in the mid-1820s. After the end of the war, the British claimed sovereignty over the region but they did not fully incorporate it into the Raj until after indigenous elites helped them find tea tracts, clear the jungles, and acquire land and labour. The British traded guns and opium for this knowledge and help, but then once the industry took off they imprisoned and executed their former allies, and established systems of landholding and labour laws that furthered the conquest of the region and its people.

Headshot source: Erika Rappaport

Image source: wiki/Internet Archive Book Images

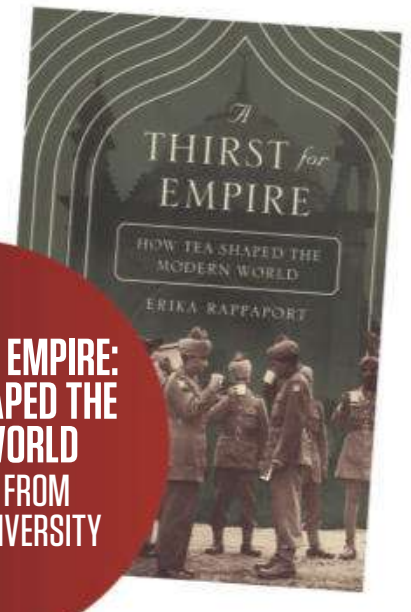
ABOVE A photograph of workers at an Assam tea garden in 1913

How was tea advertised to British consumers? Was the advertising different for Chinese and Indian teas?
Initially, British-grown teas from India were rarely advertised but they entered tea blends that included Chinese tea. Chinese teas were considered better products and when consumers tasted Indian teas they thought they tasted too strong, too weedy and literally uncultivated. So importers and retailers blended the teas with those from China and consumers acquired a taste for the new teas. This blending upset British planters, however, who thought consumers would never learn to like their products. British planters established associations and launched massive advertising campaigns in Britain and around the world to sell Indian tea (and Ceylon teas after the 1890s) as empire-grown. Their campaign essentially made consumers by cultivating anti-Chinese racism. Ads, articles and exhibition displays explained that Chinese teas were adulterated with dangerous chemicals and generally dirty.

> **"The tax on tea was enough to support the entire cost of the navy"**

Consumers were told that the Chinese dried and rolled tea with their hands and feet and thus their teacups included sweat, fingernails and other 'unpleasant' additives. British teas, by contrast, were marketed as clean, machine-made, packaged and carefully imported under the watchful eyes of British importers.

Why did the decline of tea coincide with the decline in the British Empire?
British consumption rates began to decline in the mid-1950s and 1960s, right when tea-producing nations were gaining their independence. Remarkably, the first data on consumer decline came in 1957 during the Suez Crisis, which symbolised and initiated the end of British power in the Middle East and the rise of American influence. With independence in India, Ceylon and British East Africa, British planters sold up and retired. More importantly, the large tea companies diversified and began to sell other more 'modern' beverages such as coffee and sodas. They also began to market tea bags and other more convenient methods of brewing tea, which frankly did not taste as good, either. Finally, young people in Britain, who were protesting against imperialism, rejected many British traditions in favour of American culture, ironically opening the door to a new kind of imperialism.



A THIRST FOR EMPIRE: HOW TEA SHAPED THE MODERN WORLD IS OUT NOW FROM PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS

TEA MUSEUMS

Where to find the history of one of the world's most popular hot drinks

1 THE BRITISH TEA MUSEUM
HASTINGS, ENGLAND

Everyone knows that tea and Britain go hand in hand. Starting as a luxury for the wealthy elite, it gradually became one of the most-loved beverages in the British Isles – in fact, today the British consume an average of 265 litres each per year.

Located in the seaside town Hastings in East Sussex, the British Tea Museum offers a journey through the history of tea in Britain. The museum has lots of fascinating information on the different types of teas and brewing processes, as well as the social history of the popular brew and the etiquette of traditional afternoon tea. Visitors even get to taste some of the different varieties.

Tickets come with the opportunity to play table games and enjoy a cream tea, while a Victorian carriage and British dressing up box provide entertainment for the little ones.

Open Saturdays and Sundays, 10am-5.30pm. Admission is from £3. thebritishteamuseum.com

2x © The British Tea Museum

Tea-lovers will enjoy a trip to Hastings' museum

2 CEYLON TEA MUSEUM
HANTANA, SRI LANKA

With four floors dedicated to the history of tea cultivation in Sri Lanka, this is the perfect place for tea lovers visiting the country. The building itself is the old Hantane Tea Factory, built around 1925 – it lay abandoned for over a decade until its refurbishment.

Image source: wiki/ CaflierOO1

The tea museum in Sri Lanka

A library and auditorium can be found on the ground and first floors alongside traditional machinery. Exhibits tell the stories of pioneers James Taylor and Thomas Lipton, now household names when it comes to tea. The gardens of the museum are filled to the brim with different tea varieties and are perfect for a relaxing stroll before or after your visit.

The entire top floor of the museum houses a cafe where visitors can choose from a wide variety of teas to sip while they take in the panoramic views of Kandy city and the surrounding hills. On your way out, make sure to stop off at the third floor to buy some of your favourite teas.

Open Tues to Sat 8.30am-3.45pm, Sundays 8.30am-3pm. Admission is 800LKR for non-resident adults, 400LKR for non-resident children. ceylonteamuseum.com

Some of the tea plantations at the China National Tea Museum
Image source: wiki/ Fredlyfish4

Some of the tea services on display at the museum in Lower Saxony

3 CHINA NATIONAL TEA MUSEUM
HANGZHOU, CHINA

China is synonymous with tea. Legend has it that tea was discovered by Chinese emperor Shennong almost 5,000 years ago, so it seems fitting that the country has more than one museum dedicated to it.

The country's national tea museum sits in the hills near Hangzhou, the capital of Zhejiang province. Sprawled over 3.7 hectares, the China National Tea Museum opened its doors to the public in 1990. Since then, millions of visitors have explored its exhibits on the culture of tea and the iconic beverage's historical development in the region.

Visitors can learn about the origin, evolution and resulting prosperity of Chinese tea before sampling over 100 different varieties in the Tea Collection Hall. Every tea family is represented there, from green and black to oolong, white and dark. For those more interested in tea cultivation, the museum has plenty of information about growing, processing and preservation.

If teaware is more your thing, you won't feel left out. The museum's Tea Sets Hall contains all the historic paraphernalia you could ever want to see. From Neolithic teapots to modern tea containers, you can uncover the gold, jade and ivory items that the Chinese have used with their tea for centuries.

One of the highlights of your visit will no doubt be the Tea Custom Hall. Here you can experience tea etiquette from every corner of China in traditional ceremonies.

Open 1 May – 7 October, 9am-5pm; 8 October – 30 April 30, 8:30am-4:30pm (closed on Mondays; open on public holidays). Admission is free.

4 CHARLESTON TEA GARDEN
CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA

As the USA's only tea plantation, Charleston Tea Garden is a one-of-a-kind attraction in South Carolina. Based on historic Wadmalaw Island, the area's climate is perfect for the Camellia Sinensis tea plant, which Charleston Tea Garden uses to produce its 320 varieties of black and green teas.

For those who want to see the tea garden in all its glory, trolley tours are available. The 35-40-minute trips around the stunning 51-hectare site mean you can take in the peaceful atmosphere and see the true extent of the tea plantation. And no visit would be complete without seeing the popular greenhouse, where you can see first-hand how new tea plants are propagated in a climate-controlled environment. There's a handy stop here on the trolley tour so you can take your time. Visits to the tea garden don't stop with tours around the beautiful plantation, though. The Charleston Tea Garden's factory tour will take you through the entirety of the tea-making process, and you'll be just metres away from the working machinery.

Explore the beautiful scenery of a working tea plantation

Monday-Saturday 10am-4pm, Sunday 12-4pm. Admission is free. charlestonteagarden.com

5 OSTFRIESISCHES TEEMUSEUM
NORDEN, GERMANY

The Ostfriesisches Teemuseum, or East Frisian Tea Museum, is the perfect place to find out the history of tea in East Friesland. In an area where tea culture is incredibly important, the tea museum is home to German tea paraphernalia spanning centuries.

With a large exhibition space of over 1,000 square metres, you can explore the East Frisian tea culture as well as the story behind tea cultivation, harvesting and processing from around the world.

East Frisian tea porcelain features distinct rose patterns, called the East Frisian Rose, and saucers and teapots fill display cases around the museum. They are used in traditional East Frisian tea ceremonies, which date back 300 years. The ceremony starts with loose-leaf tea being poured onto a piece of rock sugar, or Kluntje, in a teacup. Cream is added but not stirred, so each sip brings a different taste. Visitors to the museum will also learn how East Frisian tea is made from a blend of Assam teas that are mixed in the region. Each family enjoys its own blend, which gets passed down through the generations. The soft water in the region also gives it a much sweeter taste.

Open March, Tue-Sun 10am-5pm; April-Oct, Mon-Sun 10am-5pm; Nov-Feb, Wed & Sat 11am-4pm. Admission is €6 for adults, €2 for children. teemuseum.de/home

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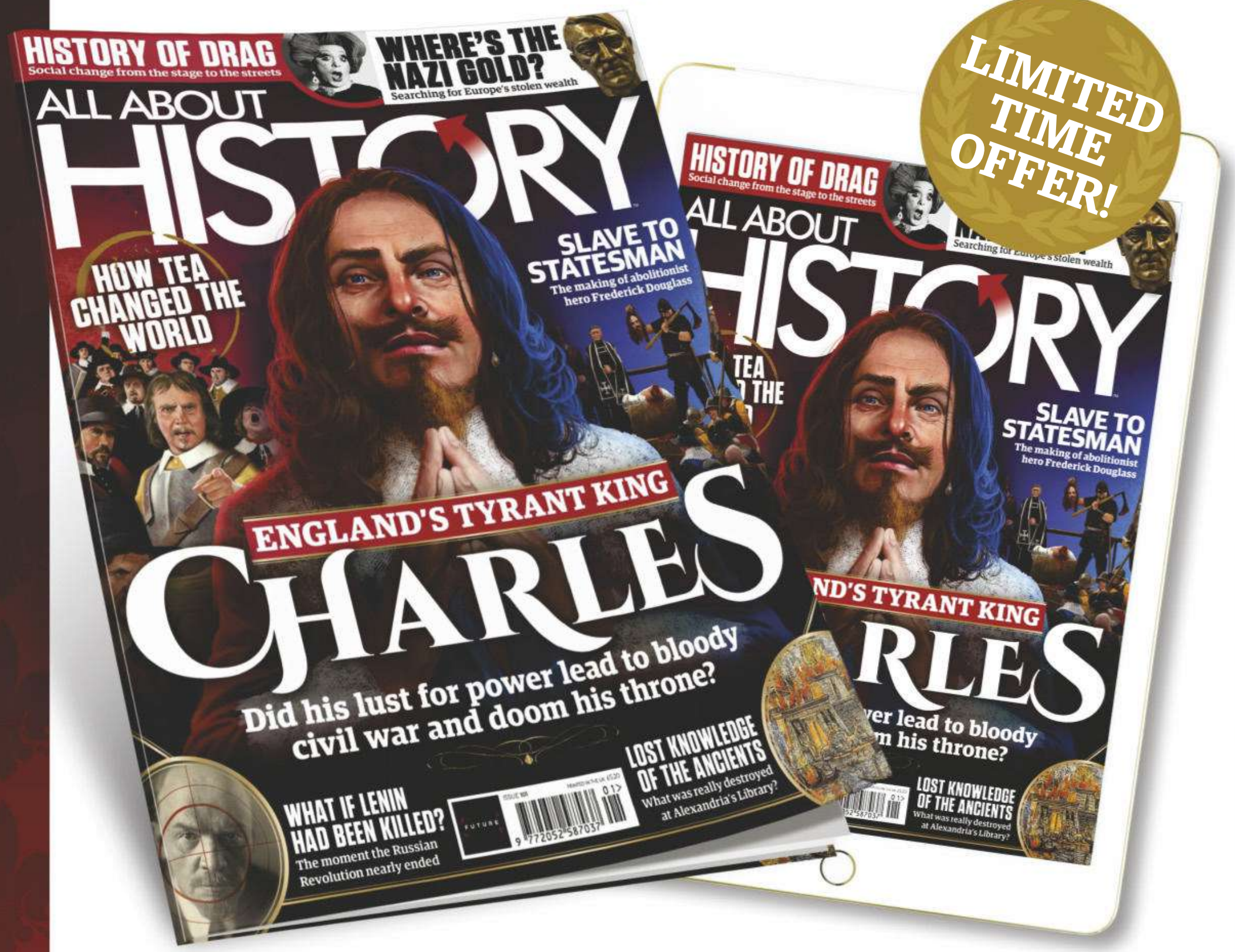
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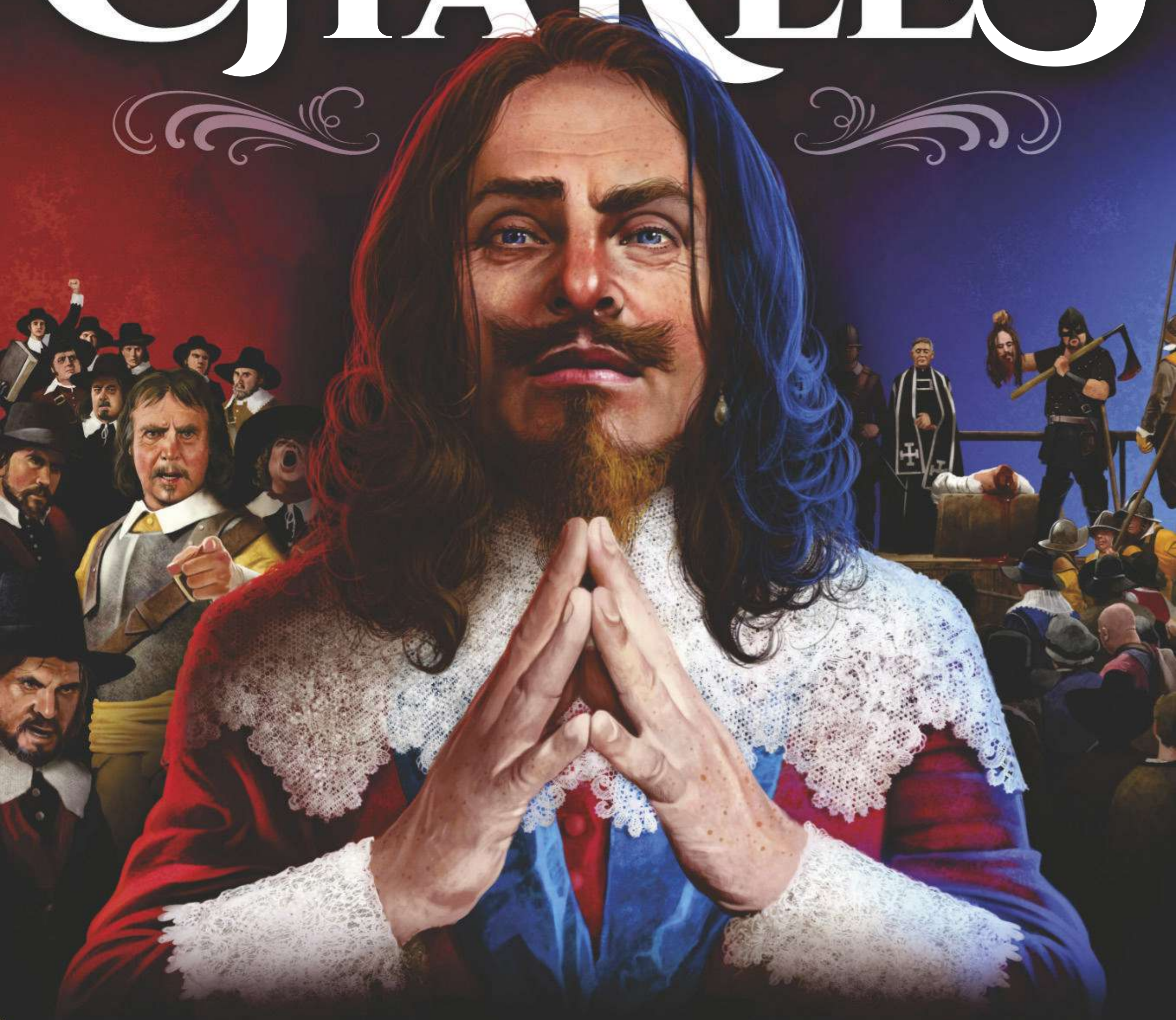
ENGLAND'S TYRANT KING

CHARLES



His reign tore apart a nation, but how much blood is on his hands?

Written by Jessica Leggett

© Alamy

On 30 January 1649, as King Charles I was escorted through the Banqueting House to the scaffold outside, he walked under the magnificent ceiling painting by Peter Paul Rubens that he had commissioned 13 years earlier. A tribute to his father, King James VI & I, it glorified the monarchy and symbolised the divine right of kings – a belief that led Charles to the executioner's block.

Derided as a tyrant by some and celebrated as a martyr by others, Charles was a divisive king who continues to ignite debate almost four centuries after his death. As James' second son, Charles spent the first 12 years of his life as the spare to the heir until the death of his elder brother, Henry Frederick, Prince of Wales, in 1612. He succeeded his father in 1625 and initially there was excitement for a new, young king.

Illustration by Joe Cummings

Less than two months into his reign, Charles married Princess Henrietta Maria of France, a Catholic. The marriage worried Parliament, who feared that she would influence him to reintroduce Catholic practices and steer the Church of England towards Catholicism.

There was a growing distrust in Charles' religious policies. Like his father, he wanted to create a religious uniformity across England, Scotland and Ireland. But some of his beliefs, for example that there should be a hierarchy within the church and that the heads of the church should be treated with deference, were far too Catholic for the Puritans in Parliament.

Regardless, Charles saw introducing religious reforms as his right. He also inherited his father's unwavering belief in the divine right of kings, that a monarch was appointed by and only answerable to God. Consequently, Charles expected his wishes to be carried out without question and saw any criticism of him as a sign of disloyalty. James had understood the need to compromise with Parliament when necessary but Charles – who lacked political skill – did not. Instead, he wanted to rule on his terms, leading to more and more clashes with Parliament.

"Charles succeeded his father in 1625 and initially there was excitement for a new, young king"

Attempting to control the king's royal prerogative, Parliament broke with

ABOVE
King Charles trying to arrest the five Members of Parliament

precedent by refusing to grant him the lifetime right to collect custom duties, known as tonnage and poundage. Instead, it decided he would only be able to do this for one year, infuriating Charles.

The antagonism worsened when Parliament refused to grant the funds Charles needed to continue his expensive wars with Spain and France, encouraged by his despised favourite, the Duke of Buckingham. When Parliament demanded that the king remove Buckingham he refused, choosing to dissolve Parliament instead. In fact, Charles would dissolve Parliament three times in the first four years of his reign.

Without Parliament, Charles resorted to raising taxes through a forced loan between 1626-27, which required the wealthy to give him money. He did this without the consent of Parliament, causing anger and discontent, especially when he imprisoned without trial five knights who refused to pay it.

"James had understood the need to compromise with Parliament when necessary but Charles – who lacked political skill – did not"

In May 1628, Charles had to turn to Parliament again to raise more money. Parliament responded by presenting him with the Petition of Right, a statement of civil liberties. The Petition asked the king to recognise that he could not raise taxes without parliamentary consent, not imprison people without cause, not quarter soldiers on subjects nor impose martial law on them.

Charles reluctantly assented to the Petition but shortly afterwards he made it clear that it was "not to grant any new privilege". He also reasserted his right to collect tonnage and poundage even though Parliament had not agreed. Buckingham's assassination in August led to hopes that tensions between Charles and Parliament would ease, but it was in vain.

When Charles recalled Parliament in January 1629, they stated their opposition to him collecting tonnage and poundage without approval. In March, Charles tried to adjourn Parliament but the speaker, Sir John Finch, was held down in his chair by three members as the Commons passed several motions that criticised Charles' actions, including the appointment of bishops who appeared to be undermining the Calvinist doctrines of the church. Angered, the king dissolved Parliament and he did not recall it for the next 11 years, a period that became known as Charles' Personal Rule.

To his critics, Charles' Personal Rule was called 'the 11 years' tyranny'. Yet it's worth remembering that it was not unusual to rule without Parliament for extended periods. Both James and Elizabeth I

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© Getty Images

ABOVE Cromwell and the New Model Army stopped negotiations with the king

RIGHT Their defeat at the Battle of Naseby was disastrous for the Royalists

had avoided dealing with Parliament as much as possible, as Parliament was not necessary for the day-to-day running of the country.

Since he was unwilling to deal with Parliament, Charles sought peace with France and Spain that was welcomed in England, but he had not given up hope of continuing his wars overseas. To raise the money he resorted to increasingly unpopular methods such as granting monopolies on commodities like soap, which drove up prices.

His most hated tax, however, was his attempt to levy ship money from 1634 onwards as a permanent form of taxation across the country, even though previously it only applied to coastal communities at times of war. As Charles had done this without Parliament's consent, many considered it illegal and refused to pay.

His decision to levy taxes without Parliament's approval was deemed by some as evidence that he was a tyrannical ruler who envisioned an absolute monarchy. By not calling Parliament for over a decade, Charles and his advisors also became out of touch with the concerns and opinions of his people, isolating himself further.

Tensions reached boiling point when Charles attempted to implement the religious reforms of William Laud, the Archbishop of Canterbury appointed in 1633. These Arminian reforms, emphasising ritual and ceremony, leaned too close to Catholicism for the Puritans in Parliament. And when Charles tried to introduce a new *Book of Common Prayer* in Scotland without consulting the Kirk or Scottish Parliament, a rebellion broke out that triggered the Bishops' Wars between 1639 to 1640.

Lacking the funds to raise an army meant that Charles resummoned Parliament, which sat in April 1640. Immediately, the members criticised him for refusing to call them for over a decade, stating that they would not grant his demand for money. One MP, John Pym, complained about the royal abuses that had taken place against the liberties of Parliament, law and religion during Charles' Personal Rule. Once again, a furious Charles dissolved Parliament after just three weeks.

He resummoned Parliament again that November when his men were defeated by the Scottish rebels. Known as the Long Parliament because it would sit for the next eight years, it promptly scrutinised Charles' actions. At the same time, a Catholic rebellion broke out in Ireland, with both Charles and Parliament agreeing

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The King's Spy

Jane Whorwood was one of Charles' most loyal secret agents

The daughter of a Scottish courtier and later a stepdaughter of James Maxwell, a gentleman of Charles' bedchamber, Jane Whorwood was a faithful spy and close confidant of the king during the civil war. Unsurprisingly, there are barely any records of her clandestine activities – we don't even have a portrait of her – and her story remained largely forgotten for hundreds of years.

Whorwood became involved with the Royalist cause when Charles moved his court to Oxford at the beginning of the civil war. An extremely resourceful woman, she smuggled various items to the king in Oxford, including gold in barrels of soap. Thanks to a surviving ledger, we know that she was responsible for at least £85,000 worth of gold being smuggled into the city, mostly from Sir Paul Pindar, a Royalist. Whorwood also helped establish and run Royalist intelligence networks in London and Edinburgh, as well as raising funds for the king.

She also organised several escape attempts for Charles when he was imprisoned by Parliament. In November 1647, Whorwood consulted the famed astrologer William Lilly about where the king could escape to if he managed to flee Hampton Court, where he had been held since August. Unbeknown to her, Charles successfully escaped from the palace while she was consulting Lilly.

The following year, Whorwood sought Lilly's advice again about how to help Charles escape from his imprisonment at Carisbrooke. That May, after providing the king with acid to weaken the window bar of his room, she arranged for a ship to wait at Queensborough on the Medway Estuary to ferry Charles to the Netherlands. However, the king failed to escape the castle, leaving Whorwood to wait aboard the ship for five weeks. Afterwards, the Marquis of Hertford wrote to Earl Lanark, Jane's brother-in-law: "Had the rest done their parts as carefully as Whorwood, the king would have been at large."

She corresponded with the king frequently and the few surviving letters are written largely in cypher. She even visited Charles during his imprisonment and it's possible that they had an intimate relationship, something which is still debated today.

Even though Jane was committed to the king's cause, her efforts were soon forgotten in the wake of his death and she remained unrewarded after the Restoration in 1660. She died in poverty in 1684.

to send an army to deal with it. However, the MPs did not trust him to command it, fearing that a Catholic plot was underway.

Parliament subsequently passed the Grand Remonstrance in November 1641, a list of grievances about Charles' Personal Rule, written by Pym and his supporters. Incensed, Charles rejected the Remonstrance and in January 1642 tried to arrest five of his biggest critics. The speaker, William Lenthall, refused to tell him where they were and the MPs managed to escape. The humiliated king left London five days later as opinion turned against him.

It was clear that war could no longer be avoided and on 22 August 1642, Charles raised the royal standard in Nottingham, marking the start of the English Civil War. What followed was the bloodiest conflict to ever occur in England as Royalists and Parliamentarians went into battle. For the first two years, the Royalists had the upper hand and peace talks failed because Parliament's proposals would have reduced the king's power.

If Charles had been willing to compromise it may have saved his life and the monarchy. Instead, the situation for the king quickly soured thanks to the Parliamentarian victories at the Battle of Marston Moor in 1644 and the Battle of Naseby in June 1645, under the leadership

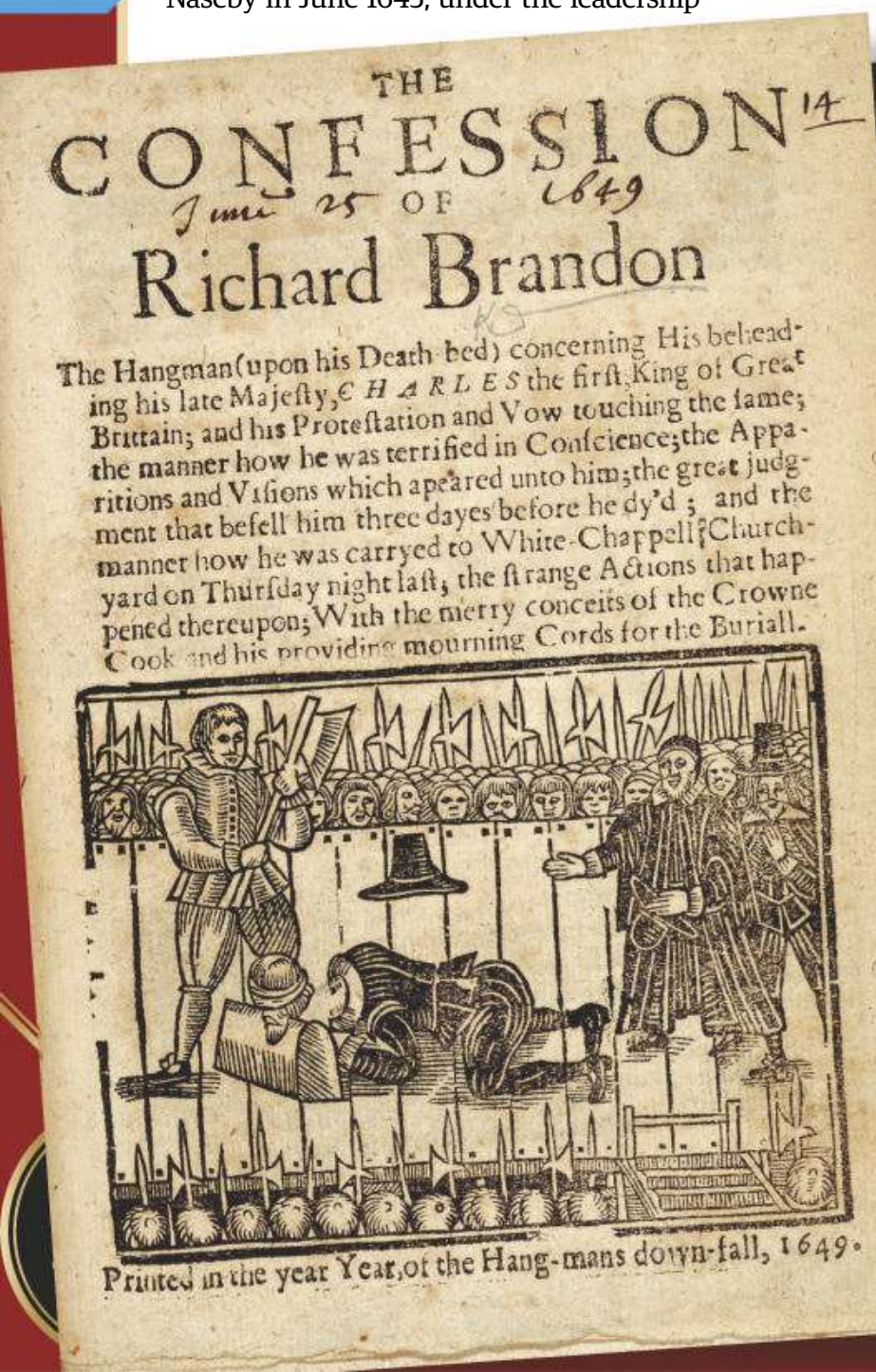
RIGHT Queen Henrietta writing a letter in support of her husband

©GettyImages

of Oliver Cromwell. It was at Naseby that Parliament's New Model Army, created in 1645 and packed full of Puritans, went into action for the first time.

Charles was eventually captured in 1646 and handed over to Parliament in January 1647. Placed under house arrest, the king was moved around before he was taken to Hampton Court Palace, where both Parliament and the New Model Army again tried to negotiate with him. Refusing to accept a constitutional monarchy, Charles escaped Hampton Court in November, however he was soon rearrested and imprisoned in Carisbrooke Castle on the Isle of Wight.

While he was outwardly negotiating with Parliament, Charles was secretly plotting and exploring any option he could. This included arranging for the Scottish to invade on his behalf in return for the establishment of Presbyterianism – a form of Protestantism – in England, as well as encouraging Royalist uprisings in England and Wales. This led to the outbreak of the Second Civil War in May 1648, which ended in a Parliamentarian victory that August.


THE
CONFESSION
OF
Richard Brandon

The Hangman (upon his Death bed) concerning His beheading his late Majesty, CHARLES the first, King of Great Brittain; and his Protestation and Vow touching the same; the manner how he was terrified in Conscience; the Apparitions and Visions which apeared unto him; the great judgment that befell him three dayes before he dy'd; and the manner how he was carryed to White-Chappell Church-yard on Thursday night last; the strange Actions that happened thereupon; With the merry conceits of the Crowne Cook and his providing mourning Cords for the Buriall.

Printed in the year Year, of the Hang-mans down-fall, 1649.

Who Killed the King?

The mystery behind the executioner's identity

There has been speculation about who chopped off the king's head ever since Charles' execution almost four centuries ago. The executioner and his assistant both wore face masks, fake hair and beards to conceal their identity from those present at the execution, perhaps fearing that there would be repercussions for their part in Charles' death. It has even been suggested that the executioner's failure to call out "Behold the head of a traitor!" when he lifted Charles' decapitated head was because he did not want his voice to be recognised.

In hindsight, the executioner and his assistant were wise to disguise themselves, considering the reprisals that occurred when Charles II returned to assume his late father's throne in 1660. Following the Restoration, the Indemnity and Oblivion Act granted amnesty to those who had supported the Parliamentarians, aside from 104 people – 49 of whom were named, plus the two executioners.

The man who is often cited as the most likely to be the king's executioner was Richard Brandon, who was the common hangman of London from 1639 to 1649, A pamphlet titled *The Confession of Richard Brandon* was published shortly after his death in June 1649, just five months after the execution. Although he always denied being the man who killed the king, the pamphlet reportedly recorded Brandon's deathbed confession –but it is widely considered to be a forgery.

Other candidates have been suggested over time but none of them have been confirmed as the executioner. Although we will likely never know who the executioner was, we do know that they must have been a professional, as they managed to sever the king's head in one go.

Image source: wiki/The British Library

© Alamy

Parliament voted to continue its negotiations but Charles' machinations had alienated Cromwell and the New Model Army, who refused to negotiate with a man they considered to be nothing more than a tyrant. Someone had to pay the price for the bloodshed of the conflict, and for the Army that responsibility lay at Charles' feet – it was time to put the king on trial.

"If Charles had been willing to compromise, it may have saved his life and the monarchy"

The Long Parliament was subsequently purged on 6 December 1648 by Colonel Pride, a friend of Cromwell, whose men prevented any MPs who could be sympathetic to the king's cause and disagree with the Army from taking their seats. This included many of the moderate Puritans who had been heavily involved in the early years of the war, with the remaining MPs becoming known as the Rump Parliament.

Charles' trial began on 20 January 1649 at Westminster Hall led by the president of the court, John Bradshaw. He faced charges of treason and tyranny against his people, but the king refused to acknowledge the legitimacy of the court. When the solicitor general John Cook began reading the indictment, Charles tapped him on the shoulder with his cane to tell him to stop. Cook continued and so the king struck him with his cane, causing the silver tip to fall off. As king, Charles expected somebody to pick it up for him but when nobody did, he was forced to retrieve it himself.

Charles refused to cooperate and enter a plea that was required to start the trial, stating defiantly:

"I would know by what power I am called hither... I would know by what authority, I mean lawful... Remember, I am your king, your lawful king, and what sins you bring upon your heads, and the judgement of God upon this land. Think well upon it, I say, think well upon it, before you go further from one sin to a greater..."

Remaining firm in his belief in the divine right of kings and his appointment by God, Charles was convinced that the court had no power to convict him, especially as the trial did not follow the procedures established by law – after all, there were no guidelines on how to put a king on trial.

After a week, the court proceeded with the sentencing even though Charles had refused to plead. The judges declared that he was guilty, pronouncing that: "He is a tyrant, traitor, murderer and public enemy to the good people of this nation, [and]

ABOVE This painting by Anthony van Dyck was to form the basis of a marble bust by Lorenzo Bernini

BELOW A portrait of the king and his wife, Henrietta Maria

Image source: wiki/Kroměříž Archdiocesan Museum

The Fallen Monarch

Analysing the last portrait of King Charles I

Artist Edward Bower, whose main patrons were Parliamentarians, was commissioned to create this portrait of King Charles I. It is likely that he made drawings of the king inside Westminster Hall before producing several portraits in his studio. A sympathetic portrait, many people chose to see it as representing Charles' martyrdom rather than the culmination of the legal process which led to his execution. Interestingly, when Charles II made his entry into London after the Restoration in 1660, Bower was appointed to ride in attendance.

Sign of Defiance

King Charles wears his hat in the portrait, just like he wore it throughout his trial. The king refused to remove his hat, a gesture that would have been a sign of respect towards the judges, because he did not recognise the legitimacy of the court.

Assassination Fears

In this portrait, Charles sports a longer and fuller beard than usual. Parliament had dismissed his barber and he refused to let anybody shave his beard in the weeks leading up to his trial, as he was afraid that his throat would be slit with the razor.

Dignified Appearance

Despite his trial and the dire circumstances that he found himself in, the king appears to be calm in this sombre portrait. This is surprising as it is believed that this portrait was probably commissioned by one of Charles' opponents.

Symbol of Kingship

Around his neck Charles wears a blue sash complete with a sash badge, known as the Lesser George, which is part of the insignia of the prestigious Order of the Garter. By wearing this, the king is emphasising his regality as well as his belief in the divine right of kings.

The King's Seat

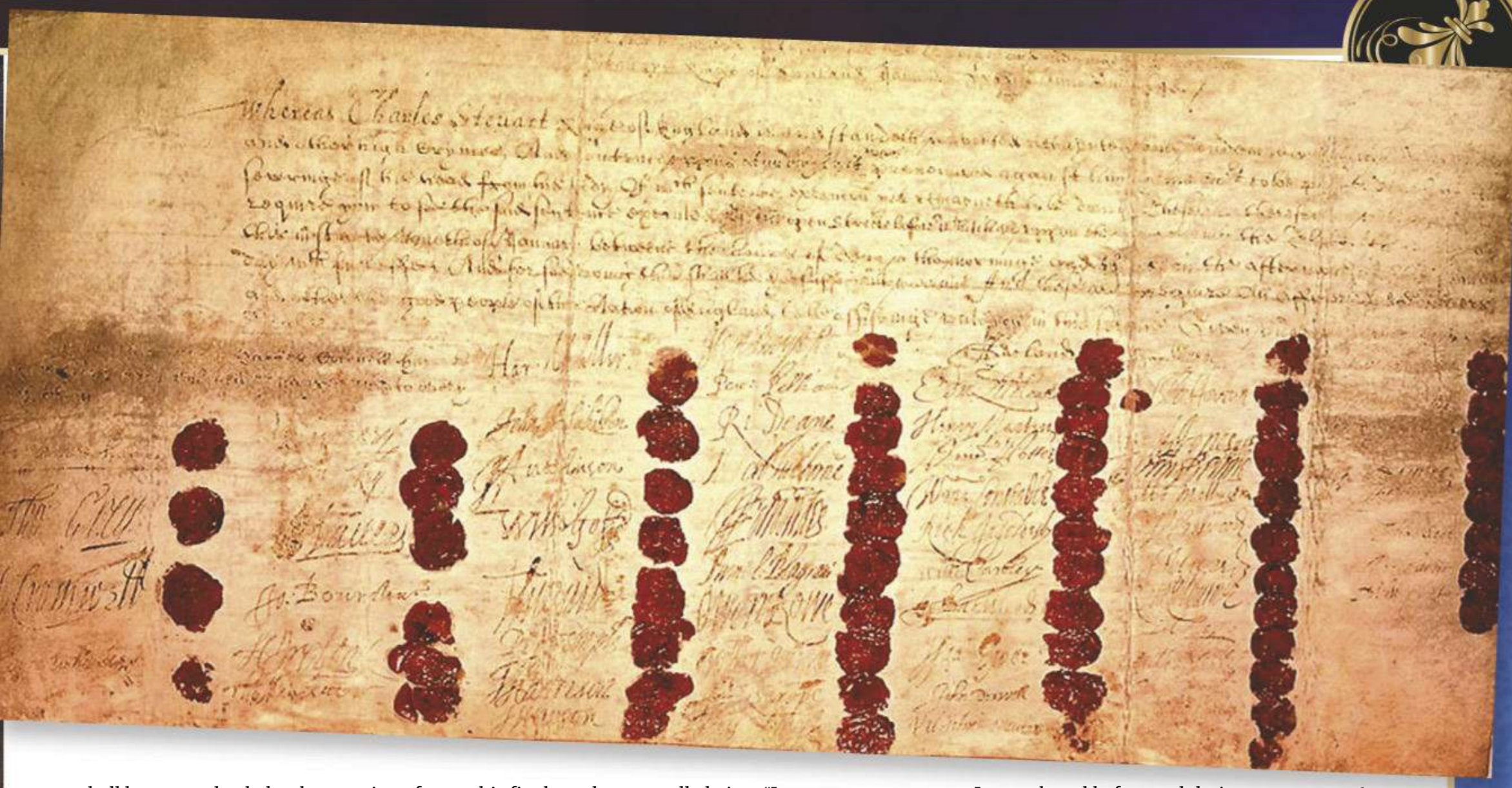
We know that for the king's trial at Westminster Hall he was sat on a crimson velvet chair that matches the one shown in this portrait. The chair was placed in front of the judges on the orders of John Bradshaw, president of the court.

Slight Differences

There are three versions of this portrait and this particular one is currently held in the Royal Collection. The two other versions show the king holding this piece of paper as well as his silver-headed cane, with which Charles struck solicitor general John Cook.

Order of Chivalry

The Order of the Garter insignia can be seen here on the left side of Charles' mantle. He actually introduced this particular design, an eight-pointed star, in 1627, to be worn by Knights of the Garter on the left part of their cloaks, coats and riding cassocks when they were not wearing their robes.



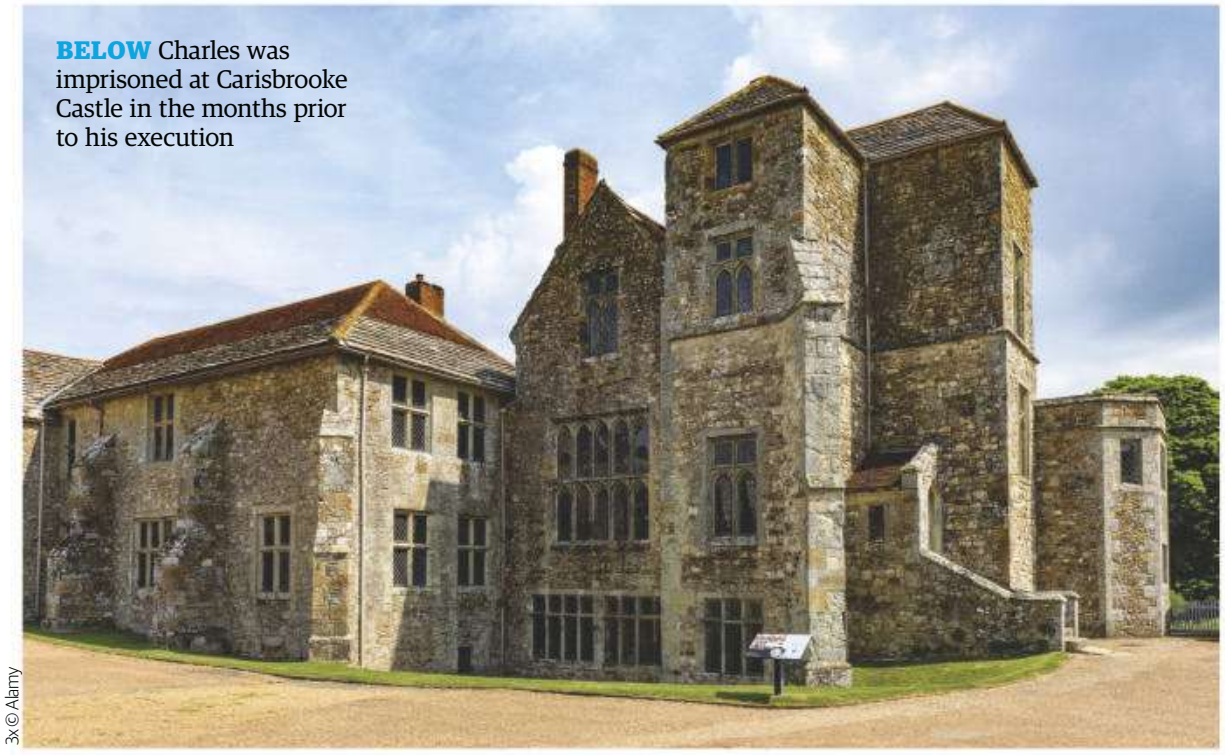
ABOVE The signed death warrant of Charles I

shall be put to death, by the severing of his head from his body." After hearing his death sentence Charles asked to speak but his request was refused.

Just three days later, he found himself on the scaffold at the Banqueting House in Whitehall. He wore two shirts because he was concerned that the cold would make him shiver and that the crowd would mistake it for fear. Only those around him were able to hear his last speech, with his final words reportedly being: "I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown; where no disturbance can be, no disturbance in the world."

The crowd was silent as Charles laid his head on the executioner's block until the axe rose and fell, severing his head from his body in one clean blow. One eyewitness, a young Royalist called Philip Henry, later wrote in his diary that there was "such a Grone by the Thousands then present, as I never heard before and desire I may never hear again."

"BY PUTTING THEIR KING ON TRIAL, THE RUMP PARLIAMENT HAD BROKEN THE FUNDAMENTAL BELIEFS OF THEIR SOCIETY"



BELOW Charles was imprisoned at Carisbrooke Castle in the months prior to his execution

3x © Alamy

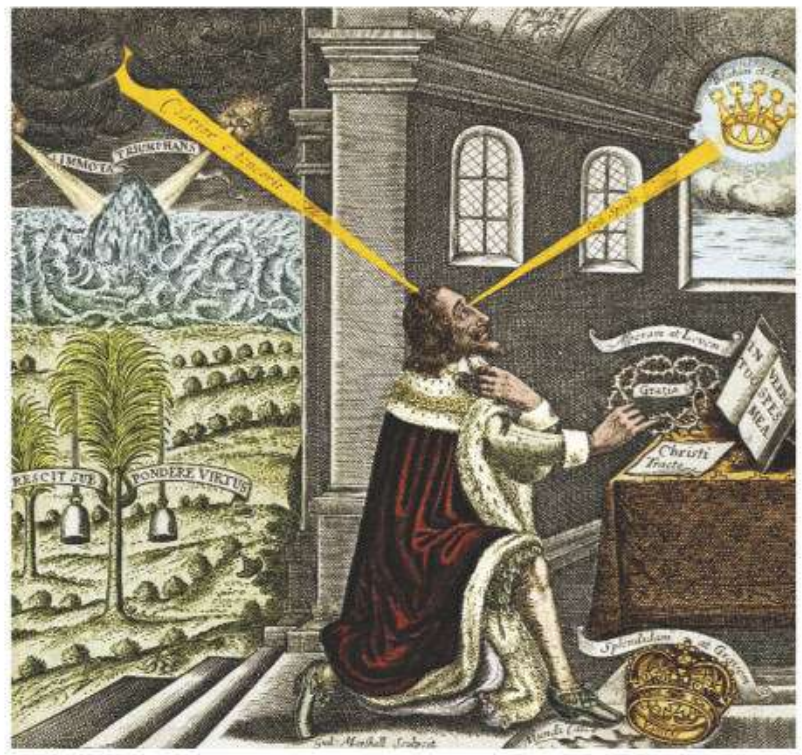
The moment Charles was executed, he became a martyr for many. As his head was lifted up for those present to see, members of the crowd approached the scaffold and dipped their handkerchiefs into his blood. It was not long before reports started spreading that these handkerchiefs were supposedly curing scrofula and that other relics of the execution were responsible for miracles.

The concern about Charles becoming a martyr is clear from the decision not to bury him at Westminster Abbey, where his father and many other monarchs were laid to rest. There were fears that his grave would become a pilgrimage site and instead he was quietly buried in St George's Chapel at Windsor Castle.

Being denied a funeral worthy of a king further cemented the indignity of Charles' death among his supporters. It is said that as his coffin was carried to the chapel the velvet pall was covered in white snow from a sudden snowstorm, evoking an image of an innocent martyr king.

Meanwhile, *Eikon Basilike: The Portraiture Of His Sacred Majesty In His Solitudes And Sufferings*, an autobiography supposedly featuring the king's last prayers, was published just ten days after the execution. Although claims that Charles was the author were disputed, it quickly became a best-seller.

Medals were also struck in his honour, people were collecting commemorative jewellery and images, and secret services were being held in his memory. The writer John Evelyn notably wrote that the



ABOVE The frontispiece image of King Charles I from *Eikon Basilike*

LEFT A reproduction of a 1684 engraving of Charles' trial

Image source: wiki/"The Phelps Family of America and their English Ancestors"

execution "struck me with such horror that I kept the day of his martyrdom a fast".

So if Charles was the tyrant that he had been convicted of being, where did this martyrdom come from? The truth is, there wasn't overwhelming support for the king's trial, let alone his execution. There were so many factions across the country that it can't be said for certain whether the will of the people was for or against, but the reported reaction of the crowd certainly does not indicate a general feeling that justice had been served.

In October 1649, the poet John Milton published *Eikonoklastes* to defend the killing of the king, describing him as a "tyrant of a nation", in the hope of ending the martyr image that became increasingly prevalent after *Eikon Basilike*. Charles' well-known personal piety and his religious patronage during his reign furthered this martyr narrative.

It's worth remembering that even the men who condemned the king to death were unsure that they were doing the

"Cromwell's severed head remained on display outside Westminster Hall for over two decades"

right thing. This is evident from the fact that they interviewed Elizabeth Poole, a 'prophetess' who claimed that she had received a revelation from God, to reassure themselves – although she claimed that God had told her it was their right to put Charles on trial but they should not hurt him.

By putting their king on trial, the Rump Parliament had broken the fundamental beliefs of their society. Still, they believed that they were following God's wishes and that He had declared His support for them because they were victorious on the battlefield while Charles had lost, twice. However, Charles also claimed that he was the one who was representing God's will on Earth, resulting in these two Gods essentially clashing.

When his son, King Charles II, returned amid the Restoration of the monarchy in 1660 Charles was declared a martyr and the date of his execution was made an annual fast-day. Transforming Charles into a martyr also helped to strengthen the

restored monarchy. While the new king promised to show mercy, the regicides were hunted down – some were executed and some were tried, although some managed to flee.

Meanwhile, the bodies of those who had already died were dug up and posthumously beheaded and dismembered on the 12th anniversary of the execution. The bodies of Cromwell, John Bradshaw and Henry Ireton (Cromwell's son-in-law) were strung up at Tyburn and their heads were placed on spikes outside Westminster Hall, facing the Banqueting House. Cromwell's head remained on display for over two decades.

In 1678, Parliament did agree to arrange for "The Sum of seventy thousand Pounds for a solemn Funeral of his late Majesty King Charles the First, and to erect a Monument for the said Prince of glorious Memory", although these plans were later suspended. Two years later, the book *Patriarcha* by Sir Robert Filmer was posthumously published in which he defended the divine right of kings, thereby increasing the view that Charles' execution had been treasonous.

By focusing on the rights and wrongs of his reign, it can be forgotten that Charles was a loving father, husband and friend. A prolific patron of the arts, he built the beginnings of the royal collection – which was sold off and scattered throughout Europe following his execution – and he developed a refined court.

He had hoped to transform England into a great European power and create a religious uniformity after over a century of division since the reign of King Henry VIII. Charles had his principles and he stuck to them, believing that he was doing the right thing despite the tensions that were emerging in the country.

Ultimately, he never understood the importance of Parliament for the English and refused to compromise, especially if he felt that concessions would infringe his God-given authority as king. Nor was he ever willing to admit when he was wrong. Unlike his father, Charles did not realise the limitations of the monarchy or that some envisioned an England without a king. He remained resolute in his belief in the divine right of kings, which became the driving force behind his downfall.

So was Charles a tyrant or a martyr? This is a question that has been asked for almost four centuries and there are arguments both for and against – at this point, it is down to each person to decide what to believe. What is certain, however, is that even though he was a king, Charles was just like everyone else – a flawed human being.

LEFT The ceiling of the Banqueting House was one of the last things Charles saw before his death

BELOW A contemporary engraving of Charles' execution at the Banqueting House

3x © Alamy

HUNTING NAZI GOLD

Throughout World War II, the German army looted millions in gold bullion from occupied countries, but where exactly did that treasure go?

Written by Callum McKelvie

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ABOVE President Eisenhower inspecting Nazi loot at the Heilbronn Salt Mines

INSET Workers open crates of Reichsbank gold bars hidden at Heilbronn

Famous American stockbroker Gerald M Loeb once stated that, "The desire for gold is the most universal and deeply rooted commercial instinct of the human race." Since the substance was first smelted by the ancient Egyptians around 3,600 BCE, this most precious of metals has become a symbol of wealth and power. The establishment of the Gold Standard in 1717, which allowed currency to be linked to gold at a fixed rate, further increased its importance.

During World War II, the Nazi war machine was a hungry beast, requiring a consistent supply of funds to purchase materials, feed troops and ensure that the assult across Europe, and the world, continued. As a result, Nazi policy was to systematically loot all countries, and their populations, who were unfortunate enough to fall under their occupation. Indeed, in 1943 the British Ministry of Economic Warfare estimated that some $550 million-worth of gold had been looted by the Nazis from numerous occupied countries. However, the exact amount of gold stolen by the Nazis remains unknown, particularly as the location for much of the plundered loot remains a mystery.

First and foremost it's important to assess the nature of the looted gold. While a large amount was taken in the form of bars stolen directly from banks, which were then melted and rebranded with Reichsbank insignia, some was obtained by much more distressing means. The first evidence of this was uncovered in 1943. As well as looting from banks and state institutions, the Nazis also took directly from individuals, including the victims of the Holocaust. While this involved seizing victims' bank accounts, housing and investments, gold bars were discovered that were entirely new and from a disturbing source: gold watches, jewellery and even teeth fillings pulled from the mouths of victims had been melted down and crafted into Reichsbank bars. Between 1946 and 1948 the Hamburg Ravensbruck trials saw officials from the concentration camp of the same name investigated for their part in this gruesome practice, among many other atrocities.

One of these individuals was Martin Hellinger, whose primary duty as 'camp dentist' was to remove gold from the mouths of victims. Hellinger was not alone, and this was discovered to be standard practice in the Nazi death camps. As early as 1940 Heinrich Himmler gave the command that dental gold was to be collected from the mouths of the dead, and in 1942 this order was implemented into the organisation of the Holocaust. Due to this, numerous bars stamped with Nazi insignia were melted down by their purchasers and restamped to conceal their sinister origin. This became particularly apparent in Portugal in 1943, where dealers had accumulated 123 tons of Reichsbank gold through trading with Nazi Germany. When the Allies warned the Portuguese government that all this gold was to be considered stolen property, dealers in Lisbon desperately attempted to exchange German gold for 'clean' gold. When this was refused, a majority was melted down and moved to international banks.

These events in Portugal raise an interesting point for historians attempting to trace the whereabouts of stolen Nazi gold. Throughout the war Portugal, along with other countries such as Spain, Estonia, Switzerland and Sweden, remained neutral. This meant that trade could be conducted with the Axis powers, despite warnings as to the nature of the goods they were purchasing. As a result several of these countries acquired stolen Nazi gold, a fact that remains controversial and raises questions over how 'neutral' these countries actually were. For example,

Sweden's steel industry would provide important materials for the German war machine, paid for in stolen gold. In 1997 declassified reports caused something of a stir as the extent of knowledge both Sweden and Switzerland had concerning the nature of the gold they were purchasing was revealed. Switzerland's Bergier commission uncovered and assessed a great deal of information concerning the country's own role in the war, especially as the finances obtained from direct gold sales allowed Germany to purchase materials from other neutral countries and further their war effort. Estimates of the amount of gold obtained by Sweden during the war range from 20,000kg to 34,000kg.

Following the documents released in 1997, many countries began to assess the concept of neutrality in regard to war and particularly in regard to World War II. The scandal that resulted in the late-nineties revealed that, to an extent, many 'neutral' countries' economies had grown from interaction with Nazi Germany and from the purchase of the stolen gold. In a US State Department briefing by Stuart Eizenstat (the under secretary of state for economic, business and agricultural affairs) regarding the reports he stated: "These dispel any sense that there was a monolithic concept of neutrality during World War II. The wartime neutrals often faced similar pressures and counter-pressures, but reacted to them in varied ways, reflecting their specific wartime circumstances, the attitudes of their leaders and the more enduring features of their economies and geography. There was, in short, no such thing as uniform or absolute neutrality during World War II."

As always when there is a missing fortune or a large amount of wealth, stories and legends appear concerning its whereabouts. Similar to stories of 17th and 18th century pirates who buried their treasure on desert islands until they could return to collect it, tales abound of fleeing Nazis hiding their stolen loot at the end of the war. While many can be considered apocryphal and perhaps nothing more than contemporary myth and legend, the frequency with which some of these tales recur raises the eyebrows of eager treasure seekers.

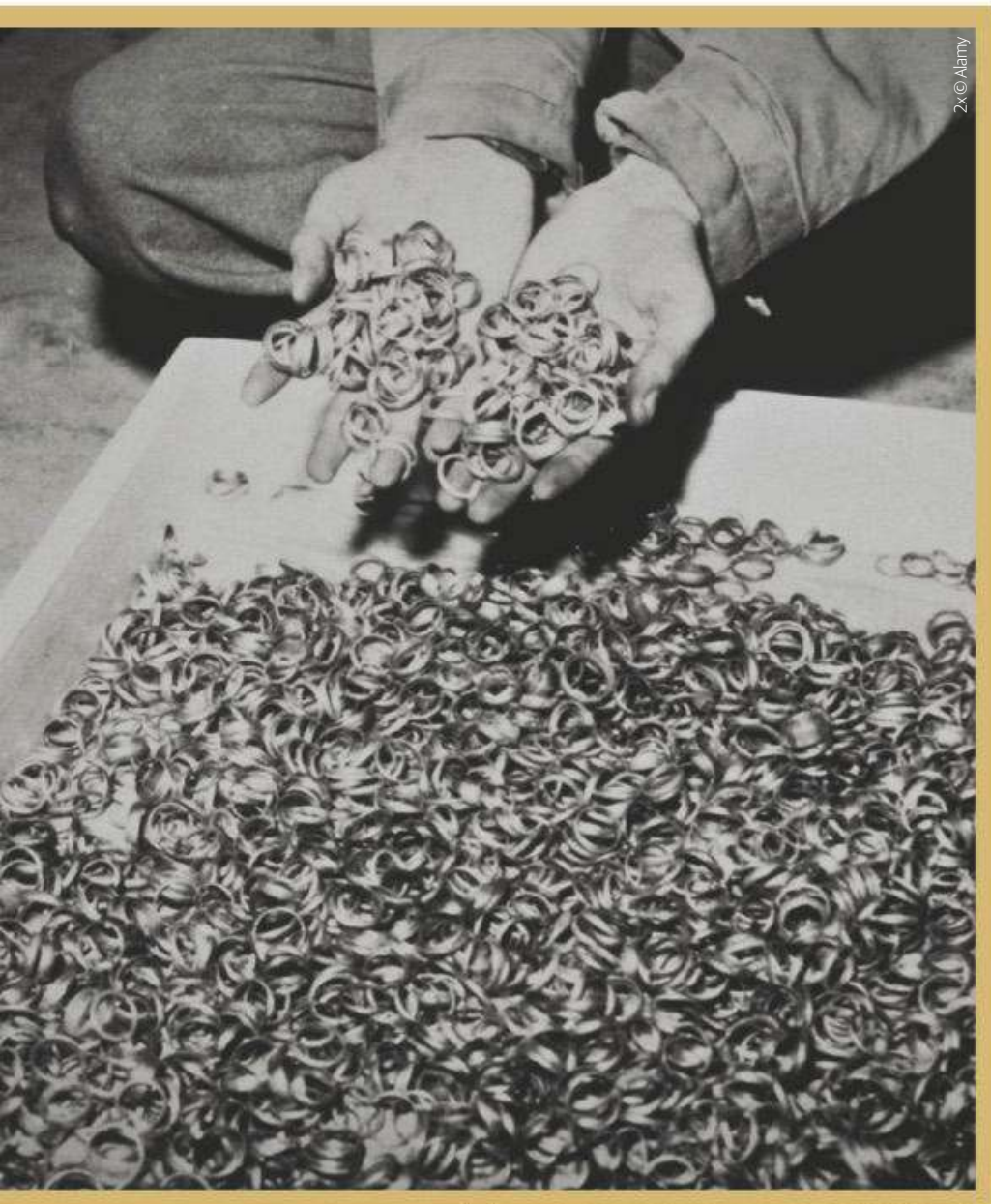
One of the most persistent and historically documented surrounds 'Rommel's Gold', named after General Erwin Rommel (nicknamed the 'Desert Fox') who served as the Nazi commander on the North African front. The gold itself was originally the property of the Jewish community in Tunisia, which was occupied by Nazi forces during the war. In January 1943 SS Colonel Walter Rauff summoned a collection of rabbis and religious leaders and offered to spare their communities for "60 hundredweight of gold", to be delivered in 48 hours. Despite the magnitude of the task, it was achieved and the gold arrived five days later. The treasure was taken safely to Naples but due to heavy Allied bombing and political instability in Italy it was unable to continue its journey to Berlin. Instead, an ingenious plan was hatched. On the Corsican coast, a diver named Peter Fleig was hired and instructed to dive down to a particularly unusual rock formation. He was instructed to secure crates under water and mark their position with four weighted buoys. Following the end of the war, Flieg would return and make several dives for the lost loot – all to no avail.

James Bond creator Ian Fleming would become interested in the mystery during his time working in naval intelligence in World War II. Towards the end of the conflict, a raid was conducted on Tambach Castle in Bavaria by Allied commandos, organised by Fleming. Inside, German troops were in the process of burning the entirety of their naval archives, dating back to 1870. Such was the extent of the material Fleming's agents discovered that a fishing boat was chartered in order to deliver the papers safely to his London office. Working his way through the vast collection of documentation, Fleming discovered details of a vast quantity of stolen gold that was due to have been shipped to Berlin, but it had never arrived. The story would inspire an anecdote in the novel *On Her Majesty's Secret Service* and Fleming's interest in Nazi gold would crop up again the short story *Octopussy* and, of course, *Goldfinger*. While Fleming would attempt to generate funds to finance an expedition to recover the gold, he was ultimately unsuccessful. If the gold still rests at the bottom of the sea, then its exact location remains a mystery.

However, Corsica isn't the only supposed location of sunken Nazi gold. Lake Toplitz high in the Austrian Alps is rumoured to be the site of a horde of some $5.6 billion in gold bullion. During the course of the war the lake itself was used as a naval testing site, where scientists experimented with depth charges – some 4,000 are said to have been detonated at various depths. Early

BELOW A US soldier poses with Nazi loot discovered at the Heilbronn Salt Mines

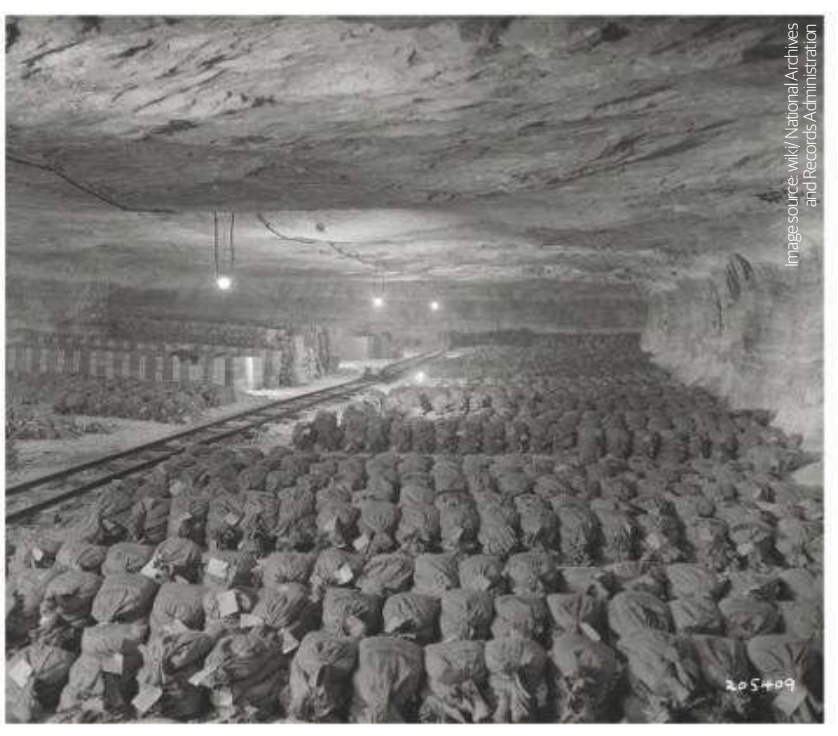
Hunting Nazi Gold



LEFT Thousands of stolen gold rings were found at Buchenwald concentration camp

BELOW Boxes of gold caps and dental fillings removed from the mouths of prisoners at Buchenwald

BOTTOM The uncovered Reichsbank horde at Merkers Mine in Germany



one morning in May of 1945, the lake was also the site of some particularly strange goings on. Farm girl Ida Weisenbacher, 21, was awoken by a knock at the door and greeted by the intimidating form of an SS officer. Weisenbacher was instructed to bring a wagon and assist in moving a large amount of wooden boxes stamped with Nazi insignia. She then witnessed the boxes being placed into a rowboat, taken to the middle of the lake and unceremoniously thrown into the murky water.

In 1959, a diving expedition revealed the boxes to have contained counterfeit bank notes – counterfeit British bank notes. Over successive decades, more and more of the money has been recovered along with Nazi documents detailing the Bank of England monitoring system, all believed to have been part of Operation Bernhard. Named after Bernhard Krüger, its intention was to cripple the British economy using counterfeit notes produced by inmates at concentration camps. Some of the notes were detected by the Bank of England in 1943 and they continued to turn up in circulation right into the 1950s, however it's believed that the majority ended up at the bottom of Lake Toplitz. The diving operation in 1959 uncovered some £700 million worth of counterfeit currency and further expeditions continued to unveil more hordes, with the latest dive into Tropitz's waters in 2000 uncovering further examples. However, as of yet none of the expeditions have ever uncovered any gold, and whether there is a secret horde hidden beneath the lake's murky waters remains to be seen.

Perhaps one of the most recurrent myths and legends surrounding the whereabouts of Nazi gold is that of the so-called 'Nazi gold train'. Trains were used by the Nazis to transport

"ESTIMATES OF THE AMOUNT OF GOLD OBTAINED BY SWEDEN DURING THE WAR RANGE FROM 20,000 TO 34,000KG"

stolen goods to the capital in Berlin, a number of which are said to have vanished in the final days of the war. One particular legend surrounding Nazi loot and locomotives, which seems remarkably persistent, is that of a train buried within a mountain somewhere in Poland. The apocryphal story states that it was loaded with priceless art, jewels and up to 300 tons of gold. In 2018, Andreas Richter and Piotr Koper, a pair of treasure hunters, made international headlines when they announced they had found the train's location. In return for 10% of the combined wealth of the goods on board (should a discovery be made), they revealed the location as a network of tunnels beneath the city of Walbrzych. Using ground-penetrating radar, experts were able to unveil images of the tunnels that caused Piotr Zuchowski (Poland's deputy minister for culture at the time) to comment that he was "99% percent convinced". Unfortunately, when a team of scientists descended on the area they found further evidence of tunnels, but no train. Whether there is any such hidden gold train remains a mystery and treasure hunters still eagerly search for it. After Richter and Koper parted ways, Richter said of the train that he was still "95% sure that it exists".

Of course not all of the Nazi gold was hidden during the final days of the war and some was recovered. On 3 February 1945 an Allied bombardment of Berlin destroyed the Reichsbank and caused its president Walther Funk to have the majority of the gold reserves (some $238 million) secreted in Merkers Mine, about 200 miles southwest of Berlin. It was not just gold that was sent to the

MAKING AND REMAKING GOLD

A guide to the production process and how the Nazis used it to launder their loot

THE PRODUCTION LINE

MINING

Naturally occurring gold is located as deposits or veins in the earth, or spread through sand and gravel. The former requires mining while the latter can be extracted through panning.

Image source: wiki/digitallibraryusc.edu

REFINING

Gold from ore might be microscopic or in sheets, but needs separating from surrounding materials in either case through refining. It takes around 100,000 ounces of ore to get one ounce of gold.

BULLION

The refined gold is now melted down so that it can be formed into ingots and bullion for transportation. From here it can be sent to banks or directly to fabricators, who use the gold for jewellery or industrial purposes.

RECYCLING

While gold in the form of bullion will likely be traded indefinitely, consumer products can be sold to pawnbrokers and scrap dealers and sent back to refiners to be repurposed. Leftover materials from production might also take this route.

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GOLD LAUNDERING

STOLEN

The Nazi regime steals gold from its victims as they are being rounded up. This is mostly jewellery, but might also include gold ornaments or privately held ingots and bullion.

MIXED

All of the obtained gold is then categorised and collated into its different types and carats. This makes reconnecting the items with their original owners practically impossible.

MELTED

Gold of similar purity is melted at over 1,060°C into ingots or full bullion bricks, depending on the quantity, and then marked with the relative carat value. The gold may also be smelted, a process that removes impurities and increases its value.

TRADED

Now in ingot and bullion form, the gold is either sent to German banks or shipped for trading through international banks. Since gold is traded everywhere, it is an ideal commodity for raising cash.

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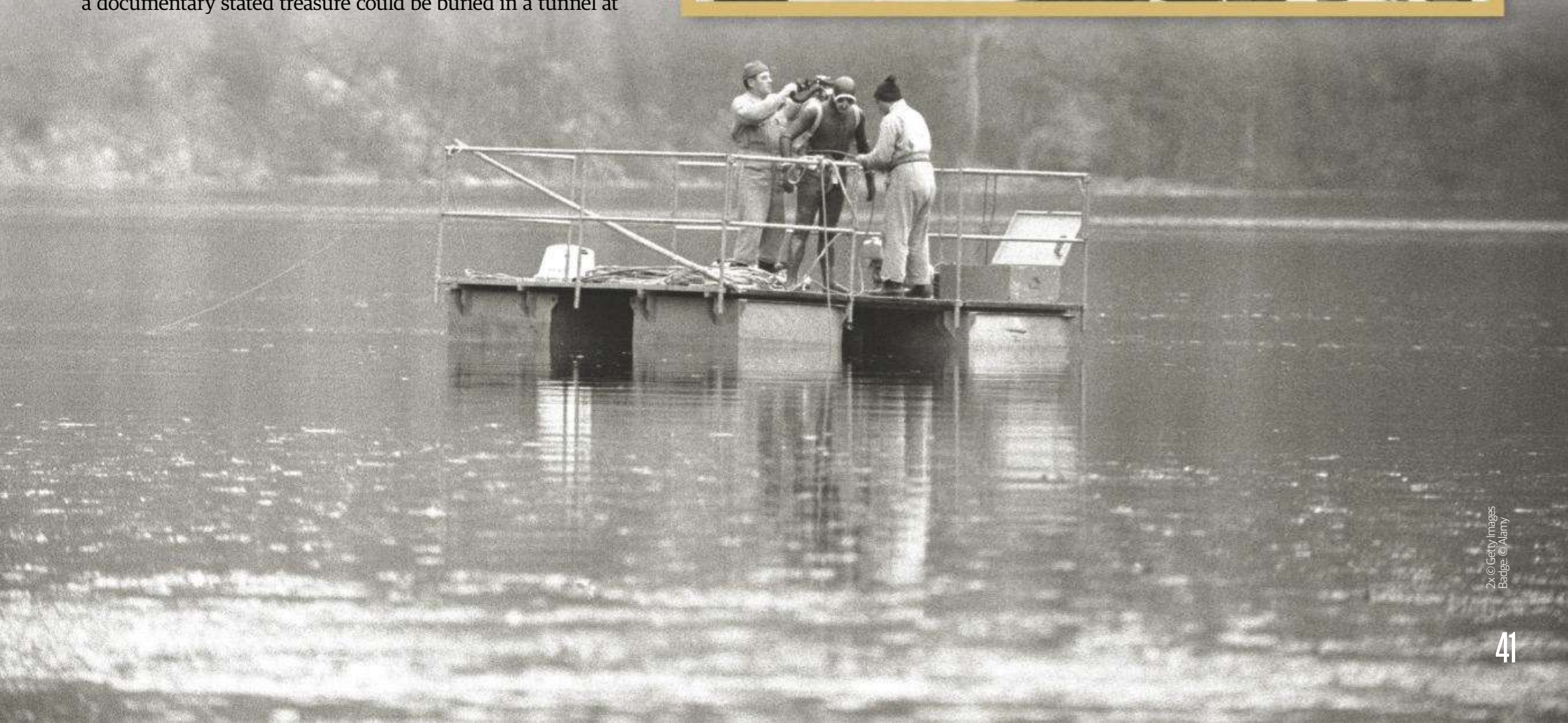
mine either, but numerous stolen art treasures and currency reserves. On 7 April, during the Allied assault on Germany, the American military entered the mine and the following day blew a hole into the sealed vault where the bullion was hidden. Following this discovery the gold was turned over in 1946 to an organisation called the Tripartite Commission for the Restitution of Monetary Gold, whose intention was to redistribute the wealth among the economies of the various countries that laid claim to it. In 1997, 5.5 metric tons (around $60 million) was still held by the Tripartite. Some 15 countries laid claim to this remaining amount, but all instead chose to donate their share of it to the Nazi Persecution Relief Fund, which had been set up to assist Holocaust survivors. For a fortune that originated from so much greed, bloodshed and human misery, its donation to such a noble cause seems a pleasing and just end.

"THE DIVING OPERATION UNCOVERED SOME £700 MILLION OF COUNTERFEIT CURRENCY, AND FURTHER EXPEDITIONS CONTINUED TO UNVEIL MORE HORDES"

Despite the continuing distance from the war, rumours of hidden Nazi loot still excite treasure hunters the world over. As recently as December 2020, the authorities in charge of the memorial museum at Buchenwald concentration camp were forced to issue a statement asking hunters to stay away after a documentary stated treasure could be buried in a tunnel at the site. Director of the Camp Memorial, Jens-Christian Wagner, stated in an interview with *The Times* newspaper that: "For many years we had considerable problems with illegal visits to the tunnel [beneath the camp]. Sometimes we also find people with metal detectors." This of course raises obvious ethical questions concerning the hunt for Nazi gold. While stories of buried treasure and hidden loot excite the child in all of us, the nature of where much of this gold originated from (either stolen property or blood money, paid to avoid certain death) leaves a decidedly unpleasant taste in the mouth. Such tales of treasure and unsolved mysteries hold an irresistible allure, and the hunt to locate much of the property stolen by the Nazi forces during the war is sure to continue. As more and more information comes to light (after all, it is only just over 20 years since Switzerland and Sweden declassified those important documents from WWII) the hope remains that further hordes will be recovered and returned to their rightful owners.

BELOW Austrian police officers with counterfeit money recovered from Lake Toplitz

BOTTOM A diver prepares to search for Nazi treasure at the bottom of Lake Toplitz



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Frederick Douglass

SLAVE TO STATESMAN

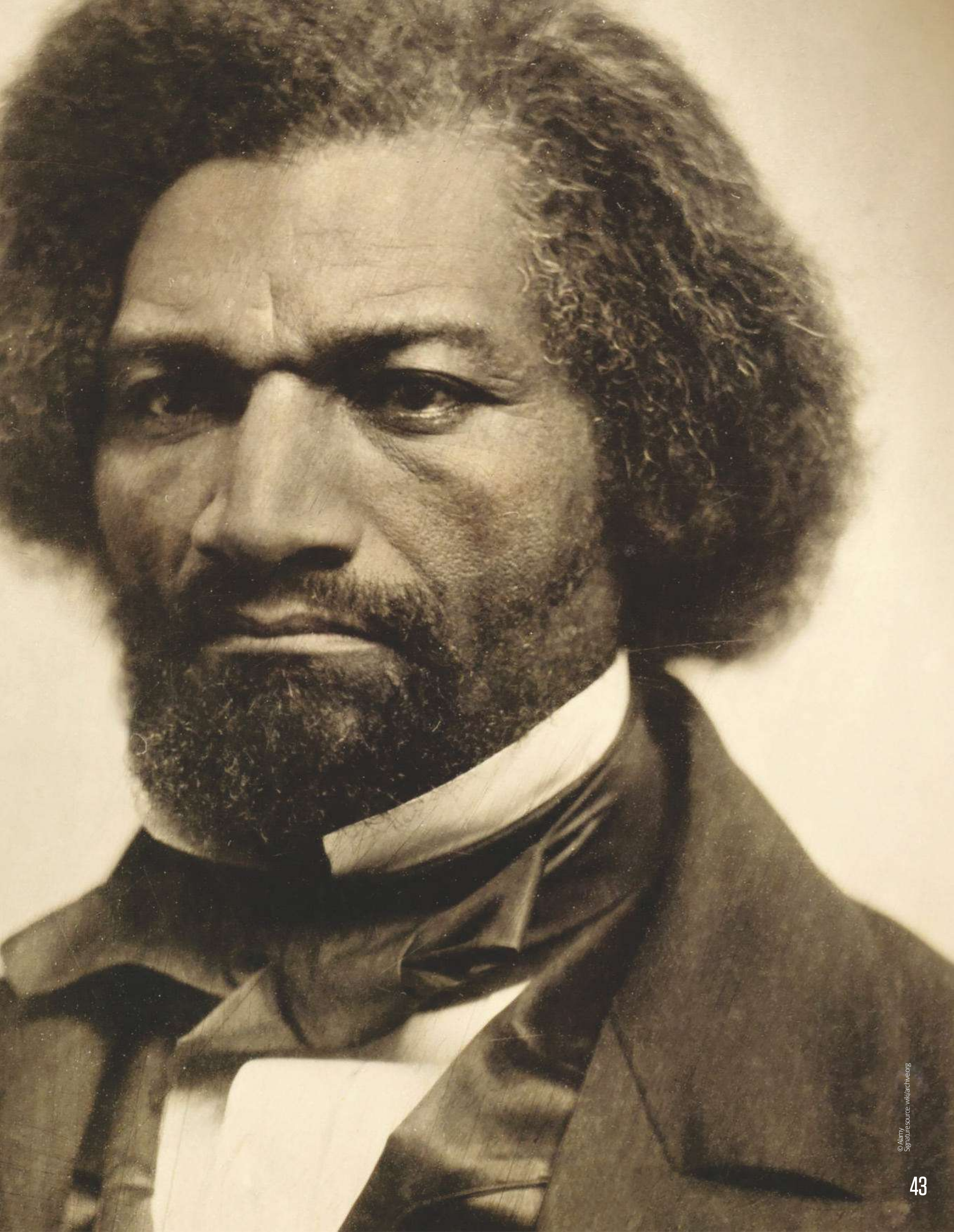
Discover the remarkable rise of an agitator, reformer, orator, writer and artist

Written by Arisa Loomba

Frederick Bailey was most likely born in February 1818 (although there are no records to prove the exact date) in his grandmother's slave cabin in Talbot County, Maryland. He was probably mixed race: African, Native American and European, as it's likely that his father was also his master. His mother was sent away to another plantation when he was a baby, and he saw her only a handful of times in the dark of night when she would walk 12 miles to see him. She died when he was seven.

Frederick was moved around and loaned out to different families and households throughout his childhood. He spent time on plantations and in the city of Baltimore, a place he described as much more benevolent towards enslaved people, where they had more freedom and better treatment than on plantations. Indeed, Baltimore was one of the most bustling harbour cities in America, a meeting place of people and ideas of all kinds from all around the world; a place in which dreams and visions of freedom could easily be fostered.

One mistress, Sophia Auld, took a great interest in the 12-year-old, teaching him the alphabet. But her husband Hugh greatly disapproved of teaching slaves to read and write, believing it would equip them to access ideas and aspirations beyond their station. It would make them rebellious. Eventually, Sophia came to agree with Hugh's disapproval and herself believe that teaching slaves to read was wrong. She ceased her lessons and hid his reading materials, snatching newspapers and books from the enslaved boy's hands when he was caught with them. ▶



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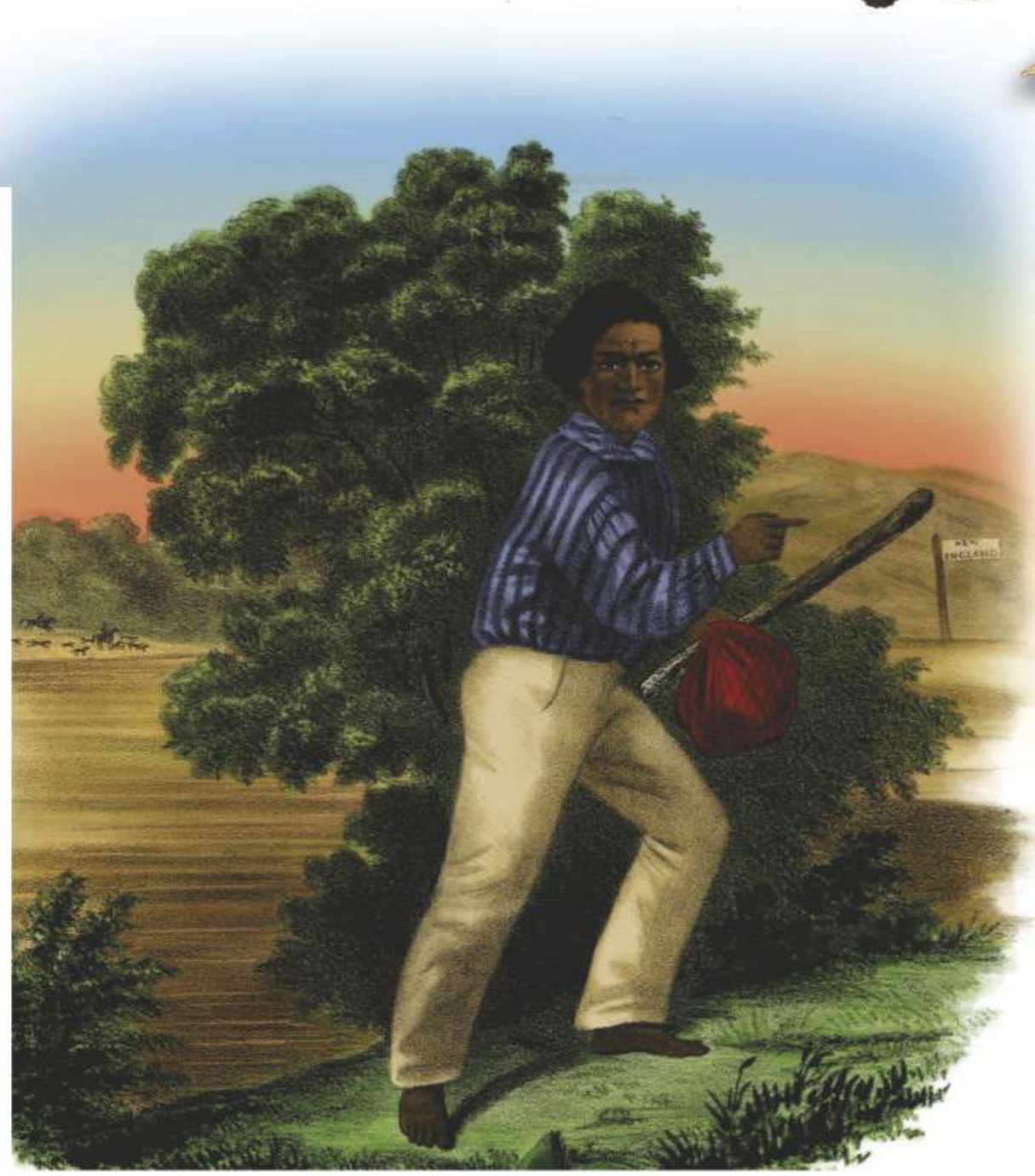
Signature source: wiki/archive.org



But Frederick was shrewd and continued to find ways to learn, trading bread with street children for reading lessons. He learnt to buy knowledge and words from a young age. The more he read, the more he gained the language and tools to question and condemn slavery, developing his sense of Black identity and personhood for himself. When he was hired back out to a plantation owned by William Freeland, Frederick set up a secret Sunday school where around 40 slaves would gather and learn to read the *New Testament*. Surrounding plantation owners gradually came to know of these clandestine meetings and one day descended on the group armed with stones and clubs, permanently dispersing the school.

Not long after, Frederick was sent to work for Edward Covey, a poor farmer with a dreadful reputation as a 'slave breaker'. He was sent to be broken, to have his rebellious spirit crushed and be transformed into a docile, obedient worker. He faced frequent whippings, and at just 16 he resolved to fight back, physically asserting his strength over Covey. Frederick tried to escape once but failed.

That was before he met Anna Murray in 1837. Anna was a free Black woman in Baltimore who was five years older than him. The pair quickly fell in love and she encouraged him continuously to escape and find freedom, helping him to realise that freedom was truly within his grasp.

The following year, in 1838, aged 20, Frederick made his break from the shackles of slavery.

He made the passage from slave state to free state in under 24 hours, boarding northbound trains, ferries and steamboats until he made it to Philadelphia in Pennsylvania, then a Quaker city with a strong anti-slavery sentiment. He then travelled to New York disguised in a sailor's uniform. He faced many close shaves, even catching the eye of a worker whom he knew, and who mercifully remained silent about seeing him. On setting foot in the north, Frederick was a new man, master of his own destiny. He was free to decide the direction of his own life for the first time, a thrilling and overwhelming prospect. Murray joined him up north, where they were quickly married and could now decide on their own name. They tried out Johnson, but eventually decided on Douglass. Settling in abolitionist stronghold towns in Massachusetts, they played active roles in a church community populated by many prominent former slaves, including Sojourner Truth and later Harriet Tubman.

By 1839 Douglass was a licensed preacher, a role in which he honed his speaking skills. He was also an active attendee of abolitionist meetings and developed strong friendships with campaigners like William Lloyd Garrison, who wrote the weekly newspaper *The Liberator*. Aged 23, Douglass gave his first

ABOVE-LEFT
Douglass was taught to read by his master's wife, Sophia Auld, but her husband convinced her to stop as he opposed teaching slaves literacy

ABOVE-RIGHT
This picture shows Douglass fleeing barefoot from two mounted pursuers with dogs

LEFT
Anna Murray-Douglass, Douglass' first wife of 44 years, was known as a patient, loyal and caring woman

CONSTITUTIONAL CONTESTATIONS

A deep split in the abolitionist movement reveals the complexity of Douglass' vision and ideology

Historian David Blight refers to Frederick Douglass as one of the most critical readers, as well as speakers and writers, of the time. This is in reference to Douglass' radical reading of the US Constitution and the conflict it caused between himself and fellow abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison. Garrison believed that the US Constitution was an exclusive, elitist text that did not hold a place for the abolition of slavery or provide a legal or moral precedent for abolition. In this sense, the US was constitutionally, fundamentally, intrinsically pro-slavery, a bleak thought for abolitionists to accept. In demonstration of his disgust at this, Garrison burned a copy of the Constitution.

At first, Douglass agreed with Garrison's reasoning. However, he later became influenced by Lysander Spooner's publication of *The Unconstitutionality of Slavery* in 1846. This bolstered Douglass' idea that the Constitution did not support slavery, and slavery was not enshrined in the very idea of America's nationhood. The Constitution could and should be utilised as a tool to justify abolishing slavery, and was a document with good intentions that had been corrupted and misused. This caused Douglass and Garrison to break apart their partnership in 1847. It was the greatest notable split in the American abolition movement.

Douglass' understanding of how slavery was or was not bound up with the concept of the nation is seen by many historians as significant for its sophistication. Later, at the dawn of the Civil War, Douglass held great appreciation for Abraham Lincoln's insight that slavery could only be abolished if the nation – the Union – was violently fought over and won on the premise of being a free, non-slaveholding country, creating a fresh start. Douglass was both radical and conservative, imagining the violent upheaval of his world to make space for a new reality, but in which the tools of the current world could be invaluable.

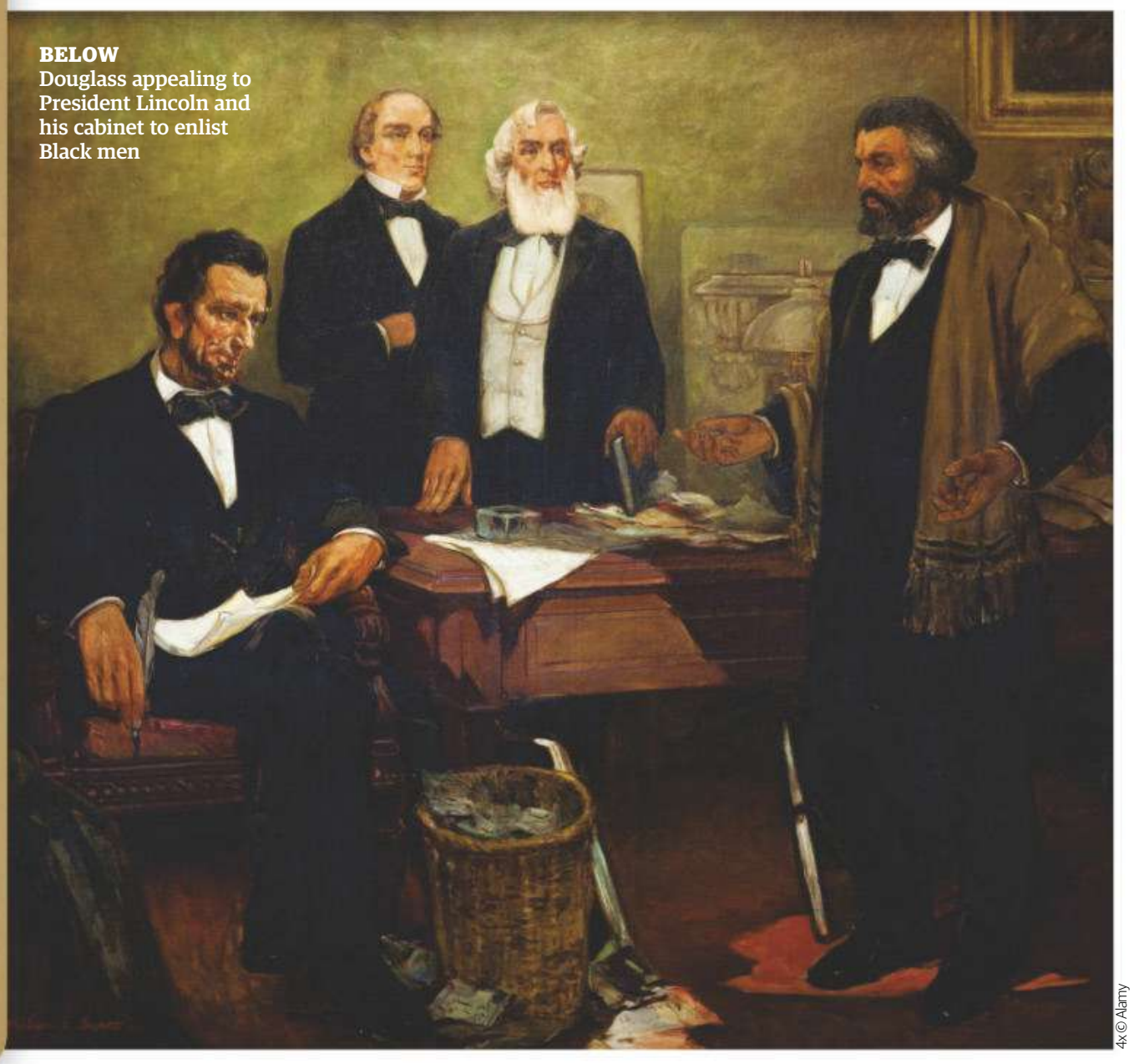
He knew that America could only exist free of slavery if it underwent a major transformation, yet he also campaigned fervently against the popular idea of 'colonisation', which suggested that slaves should be freed and sent to the Caribbean or back to Africa. Douglass saw that African-Americans had to have a stake in building this new nation and deserved to fight and defend their freedom, and he convinced Lincoln to allow African-Americans to serve in the Union Army. Though the US denied the humanity of slaves, Douglass did not seek to deny the US as his nation, nor see it as necessary to remove Black people in order to achieve freedom. Instead, Black people must themselves have a hand in building it. He was American and believed that America could be fundamentally redesigned to include and accept him.

anti-slavery speech at the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society Convention in Nantucket, and began touring across the country with fellow abolitionists. His rapid ascent from slave to celebrity took place over little more than one year.

As one of the few men to have escaped slavery with a willingness and ability to be so eloquent about his experiences, Douglass became a living embodiment of the impacts of slavery and an image of Black stature and intellect; a vision of what African-American people could become. He was used by White abolitionists to oppose general stereotypes of African-Americans as ignorant or lazy. In some ways, Douglass became like a zoo animal on display, a success story trophy, and he knew it. This strained his relationships with some other major abolitionists, like Garrison. Nevertheless, Douglass also recognised the power of challenging and reshaping harmful caricatures of Black people and began to take hold of and manipulate his own representation in speeches, writing and images.

Douglass spent two years touring Ireland and Britain between 1845 and 1847, lecturing and meeting with the last remaining abolitionists from Britain's abolition movement of the early 19th century, such as Thomas Clarkson. It was during this time that Douglass finally gained legal freedom and protection from recapture, with English acquaintances raising the funds to officially buy his freedom from his master Thomas Auld. The public endorsement Douglass received from influential figures in Europe only increased his credibility in the States. He returned with £500 donated by English supporters and used it to set up his first abolitionist newspaper, *The North Star*. Alongside this, he and his wife were active in the Underground Railroad, taking over 400 escaped slaves into their home, offering them rest and safety on their journey to freedom.

> "DOUGLASS BECAME AN EXAMPLE, A LIVING EMBODIMENT OF THE IMPACTS OF SLAVERY, AND AN IMAGE OF BLACK STATURE AND INTELLECT"



BELOW
Douglass appealing to President Lincoln and his cabinet to enlist Black men

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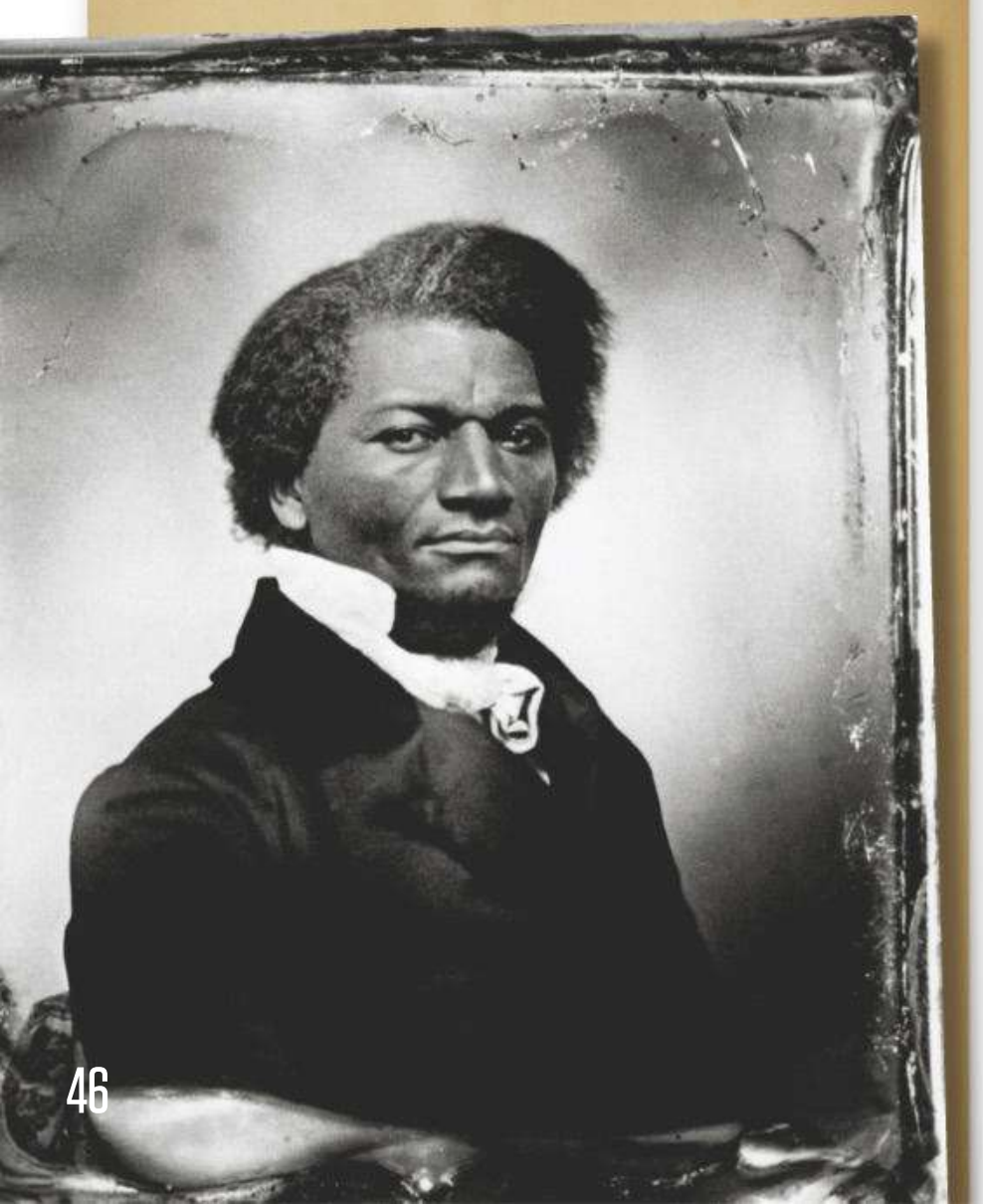
A PHOTOGRAPHIC PIONEER

Photography was a major part of Frederick Douglass' belief system and his efforts to defeat slavery and racism

At a time of great social change in the 19th century, photography was quickly growing as a new art form. With the invention of daguerreotypes, it was increasingly cheap and accessible, and Douglass saw it as democratic medium that could serve the needs of the people. He considered that whereas politicians could lie, peddling false images and caricatures of slaves to justify slavery's continuation, the camera would tell the truth. Nuanced, serious, sophisticated images of Black people portrayed as human beings rather than property could challenge negative images, particularly blackface and minstrelsy.

Douglass was the most photographed American of the 19th century (even more than Abraham Lincoln!), a remarkable record for a Black man and ex-slave. Around 160 images of him have been found, taken over many years. He stared directly into the camera, confronting the viewer, and never smiled. Typically, the sitter would be asked to stare softly into the distance or look beyond the camera, and to smile. But Douglass' stare holds a challenge to be taken seriously – he did not want to present himself as a smiling, happy, obedient slave. Simultaneously, he played into other trends recognisable to the eyes of White viewers as dignified, educated, wealthy and accomplished; his formal dress and swept-back hair took on the attributes of a classical hero.

His portraits were reproduced as lithographs and engravings and distributed to promote his talks. His use of photography was subversive and highly political, reflecting his sophisticated political philosophy, his understanding of how public opinion was formed and influenced by the media, and his belief in the social power of art.



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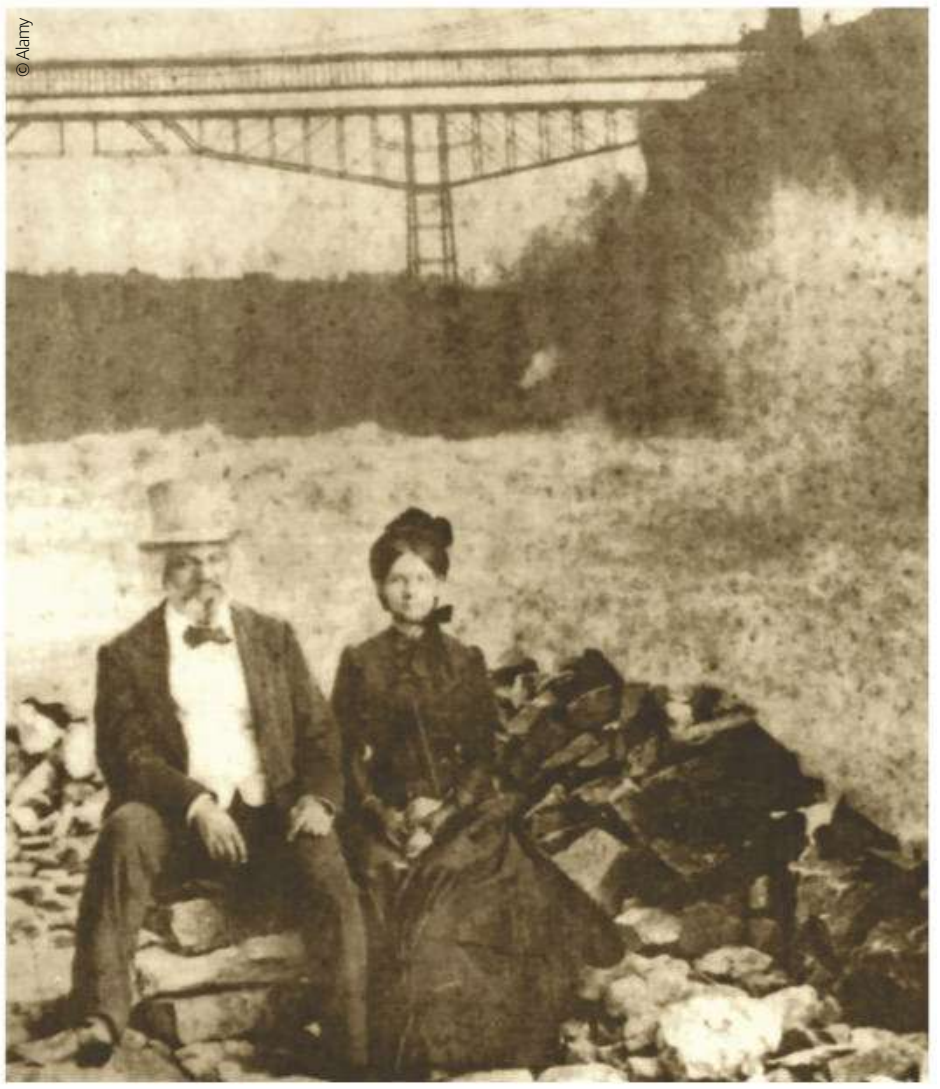

LEFT
A rare photograph of Douglass with his second wife, Helen Pitts Douglass

RIGHT
This contemporary print places Douglass as a highly distinguished and central figure of both racial politics and American politics at large

BELOW-RIGHT
A statue of Douglass in the US Capitol's Emancipation Hall in Washington DC

Douglass was an advocate for dialogue and alliances across ideological divides. Notably, he was a supporter of women's suffrage campaigns and attended many events in favour of the cause, such as the Seneca Falls Convention, at which he was the only African-American present. Though he faced a backlash for his contribution, it was only after Douglass' speech that a resolution was passed in favour of female suffrage, indicating his power as an orator. But his interaction with the cause was controversial, because not everyone was in favour of women's rights. Many believed African-American freedom, equality and suffrage was the far more pressing and urgent issue, and that Douglass' endorsement only gave more power to White female voters, who would vote against Black people's interests.

But Douglass was more astute than this. Indeed, Richard Bradbury argues that, bolstered by his tours through Ireland and Britain, he connected the struggle against slavery with many other issues: poverty in newly industrialised London, Irish famine and Home Rule, and women's rights. In his later years as a statesman, Douglass even engaged with Caribbean and Latin American ideas about multiculturalism and democracy in challenging White supremacy. And he was interested in issues affecting Native Americans and recent immigrants. He was American, through and through, but he also looked beyond the nation that had enslaved him and legally rejected him as a fellow man and citizen, towards the international stage. This gave him a space to construct and consider what he stood for and enter into dialogue with those in a like-minded pursuit of change. This global, cross-struggle outlook has helped to make Douglass such a modern, sympathetic figure, with communities across the world claiming him for their own. He created a greater sense of a united class of downtrodden people who could together overthrow their common oppressor through coordinated efforts.

One of Douglass' chief arguments, as illustrated in his famous *What to the Slave is the Fourth of July?* speech of 1852, was the importance of education in improving the lives and opportunities for African-Americans. He was an early advocate of school desegregation, building upon his early experiences teaching at his Sunday school as a slave. He was also a deeply religious and spiritual man and believed that Christianity did not endorse slavery. Douglass chose to abstain from alcohol, tobacco and other 'corrupting' substances to keep his body 'pure'. Like many involved in struggles against oppression who took divine inspiration, from Thomas Paine to Nat Turner to Elizabeth Cady Stanton, he saw himself as a prophet heeding God's will.

Douglass published three versions of his life story, in 1845, 1855 and 1881 (with a revised edition in 1892). Each

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autobiography, written at different stages of his life and career, have different tones, aims and ideological outlooks. By the time of the American Civil War in 1861, Douglass was one of the most famous Black men in America. He was both an ardent supporter, and honest critic, of Abraham Lincoln and his approach to ending slavery. Later, during the Reconstruction era Douglass went on to receive several political appointments, such as becoming the President of the Freedman's Savings Bank.

During a violent period of backlash against newly emancipated slaves, and the rise of the Ku Klux Klan, Douglass supported Ulysses S Grant in his 1868 presidential campaign to combat segregation and violence. Grant sent Douglass on a mission to the West Indies and Haiti, leading him to work with the US government on issues related to the Caribbean and its potential. Grant wanted to see if Santo Domingo could be a good sight for the US to annexe as an additional state to relieve racial tensions by providing African-Americans with their own state. Later, in 1889, President Harrison appointed him as the US minister resident and consul-general to Haiti, and the chargé d'affaires to Santo Domingo. So popular and influential did Douglass become in the top echelons of American politics that he became the first African-American to be nominated for vice president of the United States (though without his knowledge or approval) in 1872.

This latter part of Douglass' life was turbulent. Though he was highly revered and favoured, there were, of course, critics and he was often in danger. His home was at one point burned down in an arson attack, causing him to move to Washington DC with his family. A disagreement with radical abolitionists caused him to flee into exile abroad. His family life also became a focus of gossip and scandal: he had two affairs with White women while his wife Anna was alive. She died in 1880, and Douglass remarried two years later to a White suffragist and abolitionist 20 years his junior, Helen Pitts.

His affairs and controversial second marriage tainted Douglass' reputation. Indeed, later accounts written by his children (Douglass had five), indicate that the real saint may have been their mother, who remained Douglass' most ardent supporter, protecting his name and retaining the dignity and respectability required of women at the time, despite her husband's affairs and absences. Shockingly, despite Douglass being one of America's most revered writers and intellectuals, his first wife remained illiterate all her life.

"HE CREATED A GREATER SENSE OF A UNITED CLASS OF DOWNTRODDEN PEOPLE WHO COULD TOGETHER OVERTHROW THEIR COMMON OPPRESSOR THROUGH COORDINATED EFFORTS"

Douglass continued touring and travelling, speaking and campaigning into his final days – literally to his very last moments. After receiving a standing ovation for a speech on women's suffrage in 1895, the 77-year-old Douglass collapsed with a heart attack. Thousands passed by his coffin to pay their respects, and he continues to be honoured by countless statues, remembrances and plaques across the globe. He is remembered for his understanding that agitation, education, work and reform were the crucial areas in which change could transform the lives of African-Americans, and America as a whole.

The Herstory of DRAG

Social change from the stage to the streets

Written by Callum McKelvie

"Drag for me has always been my superhero costume."

says Drag icon RuPaul in their book *GuRu*. Today Drag is an integral part of LGBTQ+ culture, providing humorous entertainment in bars, theatres and on television. But the history of Drag reveals it has always been more than that. It is the history of a counter-cultural art form. The history of a medium that gave a voice to countless LGBTQ+ individuals victimised by strict laws.

But before beginning on our journey through the world of Drag, one important note is that when dealing with historical Drag performers it is sometimes impossible to know if they themselves would have chosen to identify that way. However, the individuals here are featured due to their importance to Drag culture and (unless we are aware of their preference) neutral pronouns have been used.

The tradition of Drag (though not in the form we now understand it) can be traced back to Shakespearean times. During the 17th century only men were allowed to take part in theatrical productions and so it was necessary for the female roles to be played by male actors in female costume. Some suspect that the term drag originated here, with male performers complaining how the dresses would 'drag' along the floor, though this may only be theatrical legend. The reason why it was necessary for men to play these roles was due to the extensive social restrictions and the strict gender norms of the time. Indeed, during this period it was inappropriate for a woman to wear men's clothing. Mary Firth, known as 'Moll Cutpurse', a famous criminal, was renowned for dressing in men's clothing. Shakespeare can be argued to have intentionally subverted the necessity for several of his plays, having his male actors playing women pretending to be men, for example Viola in *Twelfth Night* or Rosalind in *As you Like It*.

Arguably it was not until the late-19th and early 20th century that Drag began to develop an identity as a separate form of entertainment. Vaudeville originated in the United States in 1870 (truly developing into a popular form of theatre under the guidance of Benjamin Franklin Keith and his Bijou Theatre) and is incredibly similar in many respects to British music hall. These two types of theatre would contain 10 to 15 separate acts in a single performance, including musicians, acrobats, animal trainers, dancers, comedians and singers. One of the most famous and popular vaudeville acts was Julian Eltinge, who began his career during his teenage years when he worked in a saloon as a female dancer. Despite his father's beatings, Eltinge had no desire to give up show business and soon studied at a dance academy. His natural ability quickly gaining him work on the stage, Eltinge developed a vaudeville act based on his talent for female impersonation. A 1907 *Variety* magazine review declared:

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BELOW A Drag perfomer poses in Rio de Janerio, Brazil in 1991

"The audience was completely deceived as to Eltinge's sex... until he removed his wig... his act is far and away above what is described as female impersonation." Soon Eltinge was starring in a number of Broadway productions specifically designed to showcase his talents, with titles such as *Cousin Lucy*, *The Crinoline Girl* and *The Fascinating Widow*. Many contemporary vaudevillians believed Eltinge was secretly homosexual and some historians believe this may have helped public acceptance of his act, creating an impression of perceived 'manliness'. As Frank Cullen notes in *Vaudeville: Old & New*: "To reinforce Julian's bogus 'he-man' image, he and his handlers staged stunts such as an occasional bar room fight in which Eltinge handily defeated a man who insulted him."

It is often stated that it was not until the 1920s and 1930s that Drag began to intertwine with contemporary LGBTQ+ culture, slowly beginning its transition into the art form as we know it today. However, it is important at this point to remember that society of the time did not differentiate between a trans individual and an individual wearing drag for entertainment or performance value. 'Drag balls', events that appear to have been held for an explicitly LGBTQ+ audience, can be traced right back to the 19th century. Indeed, the Harlem Hamilton Lodge hosted its first Drag ball in 1869 and they soon became popular with non-LGBTQ+ identifying audiences. However, they just as quickly became the target of several moral reform groups such as The Committee of Fourteen, who in the early years of the 20th century wrote over 130 reports condemning the balls. The popular press were hardly pleased either, with one newspaper columnist commenting; "In England they'd be in jail, but in America they glorify them and make money out of them." However, it was in the 1930s that Drag gained more popular attention and a mania for perceived LGBTQ+ culture took over, known unfortunately as the 'Pansy Craze'. During this period performer Jean Malin would ditch his Drag act and gain fame performing instead as an explicitly effeminate man. This popularity was not confined to the US, with Paris and Berlin famed for their LGBTQ+ club scenes.

Yet, while these entertainers may have been popular, everyday attitudes towards LGBTQ+ individuals and Drag queens was still negative. Homosexuality remained illegal in the US every state except Illinois and it was illegal for an individual to dress in clothing not matching their assigned gender at birth. This was part of the 'masquerade laws', created to prevent criminals disguising themselves in costume. The oldest of these, from New York and dating back to 1845, was intended to stop a group of rural farmers who had taken to wearing traditional Indigenous American costume to evade tax collectors. By the early 1900s, however, these laws were being used to target LGBTQ+ individuals, including some Drag performers. Even though it was often noted that these laws were only intended to punish individuals committing criminal acts in 'costume' and not simply the wearing of clothes, this was incidental and other charges would be used if necessary. Towards the mid-20th century these arrests had become distressingly more common. Individuals found themselves accosted on the streets or in bars and some trans men and lesbians even had their underwear checked.

However, despite these laws, or perhaps in spite of them, by the late 1960s Drag was finding a new creative outlet. Drag pageants intentionally mimicked the traditional American beauty pageants, and many were run by the National Academy. This organisation, the brainchild of Flawless Sabrina (born Jack Doroshow) would, in the ten years it was operational (1959-69) host as many as 46 Drag shows and competitions each year. The 1967 pageant was the subject of a 1968 cinéma vérité documentary *The Queen*, which remains a cult film. The organisation provided a safe space for trans individuals, as well as cisgender men who explored Drag as a form of subversive performance. In a period when to be trans was considered illegal and to explore it was a crime, Flawless Sabrina's Drag shows created a safe environment in which people could do just that. Diana Tourjée, trans writer and co-founder of the Flawless Sabrina Archive, wrote in V Magazine: "Sabrina was a central figure in a renegade transgender movement that travelled the American underground. Through her Drag organisation the National Academy, Sabrina came head-to-head with a monolithic American majority that loathed gender diversity."

"THE PUBLIC WEREN'T READY FOR DIVINE, I BELIEVE THERE WAS SOMETHING LIKE 12,000 COMPLAINTS"

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However, on the night of 28 June 1969, events would be set in motion that would begin to change attitudes towards the LGBTQ+ community when police officers raided the Stonewall Inn, a safe haven for LGBTQ+ individuals in New York City. One Drag queen in attendance that night was Sylvia Rivera. Rivera was born in 1951 and was mostly raised by their grandmother (due to both their father's absence and mother's suicide). Beaten for wearing women's garments, they fled at age 11, becoming a child sex worker. Meeting a group of Drag queens, they were welcomed into the fold and gained the name Sylvia. Some years later, in 1963, they would meet Marsha P Johnson, who would become a lifelong friend and fellow activist. On the night of the raid Rivera was drinking with a friend, but despite their role in the night's events Rivera was not a Stonewall regular. "It was the first time that I had been to friggin' Stonewall!" they stated in a 1989 interview, before continuing: "Stonewall was not a bar for Drag queens. There was one bar at that time in that era, which was called the Washington Square Bar, Third Street and Broadway,

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where the hotel collapsed many, many years ago. That was the Drag queen spot. If you were a Drag queen, you could get into the Stonewall if they knew you."

Shortly after midnight, eight plainclothes police officers entered the bar and began to single out both the Stonewall's employees and patrons who they deemed to be breaking the 'masquerade laws'. As patrol cars and vans arrived, police attempted to load the patrons and employees inside. Personally resisting arrest, Rivera and others began throwing bottles and fighting back against the police. "The cops locked themselves in the bar," Rivera explained. "It was getting vicious. There were Molotov cocktails coming in. I don't know where they got Molotov cocktails, but they were thrown through the door. The cops, they just panicked. Inspector Pine really panicked. Plus he had no backup. He did not expect any of the retaliation that the gay community gave him." The Stonewall riot became a turning point not only in the history of Drag but also stands as one of the most crucial moments in all of LGBTQ+ history. Despite their role in events, during 1973 NYC Pride March Rivera was forbidden from speaking. Grabbing the microphone, they shouted: "If it wasn't for the Drag queens there would be no gay liberation movement. We're the front-liners." Rivera was booed off stage.

By the late-1970s a new form of Drag competition was about to be created that would go on to become a founding pillar of Drag culture as we understand it today. While the Drag pageants created safe spaces for the LGBTQ+ community, many contestants, such as Crystal LaBeija, felt that the pageants favoured White Drag queens and were angered by the discrimination against Black and Latin Drag queens within the community. Some years later LaBeija was invited to host a ball specifically for Black and Latin queens, which led to the creation of a group called 'The House of LaBeija' in 1977. Given the title of house 'Mother', LaBeija was now the head of the first such group to hold a ball. This 'House', as well as organising events, provided a family structure,

ABOVE-LEFT
Performers prepare their makeup backstage

ABOVE
The crowd attempting to stop police arrests outside the Stonewall Inn, 28 June 1969

ABOVE-RIGHT
The sheet music for *The Fascinating Widow*, starring Julian Eltinge, 1911

OPPOSITE
Divine performing on stage

Pantomime in THE LIBRARY

We interview Sab Samuel, creator of Drag Queen Story Hour UK®, on his persona Aida H Dee, the importance of Drag and reading stories in a nursery

Can you tell us a little bit about yourself?

My name is Sab Samuel, I'm 26 and I started something called Drag Queen Story Hour UK®, which takes Drag performance as the fun, interactive, pantomime performance it is but thrusts it into the world of education by teaching children about people who are different.

When did you first become interested in Drag as an art form?

I first performed when I was 15 years old at an all-boys school. At a boys' school, doing drama, somebody's got to play the female character. There was a play where there was an evil villain and I was like: "Yeah, I do that. I'll do that. Sounds pretty fun, actually." While I was at school, I was really badly bullied. I had the police involved, I was spat on, I was called a feminist. It was gay bullying before I even knew I was gay. Regardless, I still chose to perform in Drag. The day after one of the bullies came up to me and said: "You did Drag in the school play didn't you? Fair play, mate." I remember that moment, it was an eye-opener. Sometimes being yourself and letting yourself go can be ten-times more powerful than hiding in the corner.

What can you tell us about your Drag persona, Aida H Dee?

From the outside, she's a hyperactive person jumping around all the time, a bit like ADHD. But she isn't just hyperactive, she knows how to hone that skill to make it work for her, which is key. She shows kids that you can be who you want and you shouldn't let anybody tell you otherwise. I'd just released my first children's book and I was doing a signing when a young person with ADHD came and we both spoke about having ADHD. They were talking about it as if it was a bad thing, as if there was no hiding from people. I sat there, I listened and then I said: "What are you hiding? Look at me. Having ADHD or autism, or being deaf, you may need to learn different communication pathways, so yes, okay, you probably have more stairs to climb – but when you get to the top you'll have stronger legs than everyone else around you." That moment – that's what Aida is all about.

What can you tell us about Drag Queen Story Hour UK®?

Drag Queen Story Hour UK® has five separate areas of teaching according to the five flavours of acceptance: orientation, gender, race and culture, age, and disability. If somebody goes to a storytime and comes away not having enjoyed themselves then we've failed. But equally, if somebody goes away not having learned something about acceptance then we also fail. It's 50/50. A story hour comprises three stories, two songs, and one 'meet the queen'. All three stories have a 'message' about either orientation, gender, race, culture, age or disability. It's always one of those but it has to be made fun – that's the key thing. Drag Queen Story Hour UK® is pantomime in the library.

What was your motivation in setting up Drag Queen Story Hour UK®?

When I was 21 I was pushed down some stairs and had my left shoulder blown out of its socket, causing permanent damage. It was based on the premise that I was somebody who acted effeminate, and I think their words were: "This is what happens when you act like a girl." This was prior to me being a Drag performer. I sent a letter to the person who threw me down the stairs inviting them to my first performance as Aida. They didn't come but it was a metaphorical middle finger. Aida H Dee was born out of a need to try and teach somebody that people are different. I got into Drag not to start a career but to teach one person that being different is okay. Now I try to teach children the same message.

Why is Drag important?

In the grand scheme of things, Drag is not important. What's important are the results of Drag. The LGBTQ+ community has empowered themselves through Drag. Drag in itself is dressing up, it's fun and it's great for the opportunities it gives people, but empowerment is the important part of it. There are many ways to get LGBTQ+ empowerment and Drag is only one of those. Why do Drag in the first place? Because it's fun, but what you get out of it is important.

All images © Drag Queen Story Hour UK®

emotional support, protection and even medical attention for its members. The Drag queens who joined could even take the surname of the house as their own, should they choose it, and LaBeija eventually gave her moniker of 'Mother' to Pepper LaBeija, who continued running the house. Such was the success of the House of LaBeija (it remains an NYC institution) that other houses such as The House of Ninja and the House of Xtravaganza were formed. Drag balls quickly became increasingly popular, as the members of the houses competed against each other in dance and presentation categories. The importance of these events to Black and Latin LGBTQ+ individuals of the time can't be understated. As Pepper LaBeija stated in the cult 1990 documentary *Paris Is Burning*: "Ball fame is as close to reality that [they] will get to fame and fortune." The balls continue to endure and have since become a founding pillar of US Drag culture.

Easily one of the most recognisable Drag queens is Divine, aka Harris Glenn Milstead, the muse of film director John Waters. Beginning their film career in early 70s grindhouse counter-culture hits such as *Multiple Maniacs* and *Pink Flamingos* (which famously saw Divine consume dog excrement), by the late-80s the release of *Hairspray* saw the performer become a household name. Divine met Waters in his hometown of Baltimore during the 1960s and, despite their conservative upbringing, became fond of the underground counterculture scene that Waters introduced them to. The director encouraged Divine to develop a particularly outrageous and shocking persona, stating that they should become "the Godzilla of Drag queens". This tactic evidently paid off and, combined with Waters' desire to craft intentionally shocking and controversial material (including an early black comedy loosely based on the suicide of Diane Linkletter), ensured the two became known on the underground circuit. After touring the nightclub circuit they began a singing career. Promoting their single *You Think You're A Man*, Divine made a particularly controversial appearance on *Top Of The Pops* in 1984. In a 2017 BBC documentary, Debbie Voller of *No. 1* magazine stated: "The public weren't ready for Divine, I believe there was something like 12,000 complaints." Geoff Deane, who wrote the song, remarked: "It wasn't a sexually explicit performance but the shock and horror that it seemed to draw from people... I'm not sure why." Unfortunately, Divine passed away in 1988, just months after the release of *Hairspray* and mainstream success.

Arguably the most famous current Drag performer is RuPaul Andre Charles, best known simply as RuPaul, whose UK version of his hit television series *RuPaul's Drag Race* attracted some 6.5 million viewers at the midpoint of its first season. Born in 1960, RuPaul began their Drag career on the underground club and movie circuit in Atlanta, Georgia. After gaining some fame on the New York club scene, it was with the surprise success of the 1993 single *Supermodel (You Better Work)* and its accompanying music video that RuPaul shot to prominence. Following this, RuPaul appeared in several major films and became the first Drag queen to work for a major cosmetics company. In 2018, they became the first Drag queen to earn a star on the Hollywood Walk of Fame, and their work continues to promote self love and acceptance within the LGBTQ+ community. Now as well as the television series, its spin off media, personal appearances, albums and films, RuPaul also stages DragCon. This event, held in LA but with others at venues such as London's Olympia, is a multi-day celebration of all things Drag. As well as performances there are panels, vendors selling Drag necessities, meet-and-greet sessions and much more.

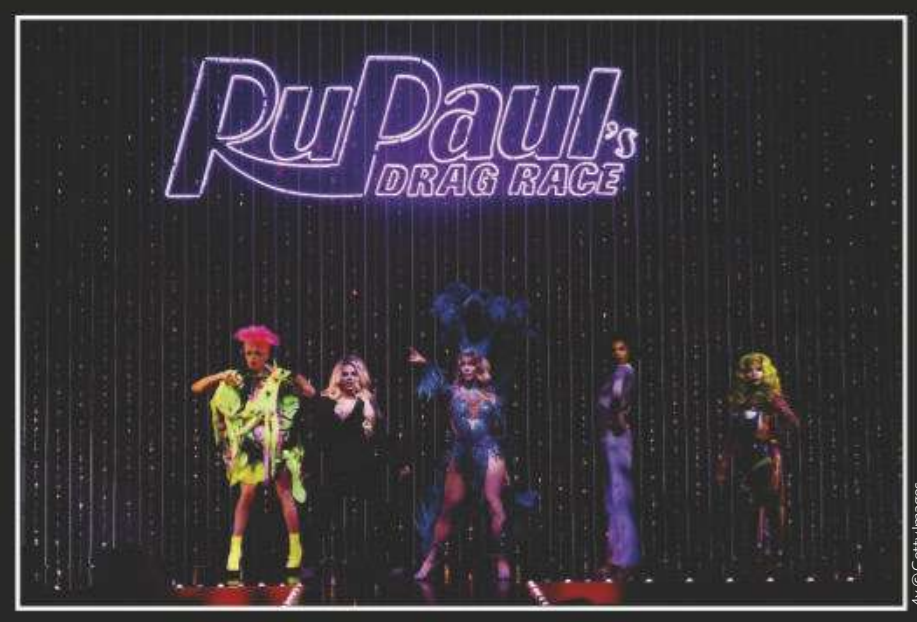
"DRAG HAS ALWAYS BEEN MORE THAN PURELY A FORM OF ENTERTAINMENT"

Drag as we know it today remains true to the spirit of its past. It has always been, and forever will be, more than purely a form of entertainment. Drag queens have further promoted the rights of the LGBTQ+ community either through their direct activism, increased visibility or in providing positive role models to young LGBTQ+ individuals, spreading a positive message of loving yourself for who you are. Now, programmes such as *RuPaul's Drag Race*, building on the work of numerous Drag queens, ensure that Drag is no longer relegated or confined to underground clubs and cinemas. Instead, it has become a worldwide mainstream sensation, one which spreads a positive and encouraging message alongside the laughs.

ABOVE-LEFT
A 1988 Drag ball in Harlem, NYC

ABOVE
RuPaul performing

ABOVE-RIGHT
An example of the underground ball scene in the 1980s



RIGHT
RuPaul's Drag Race Live! in Las Vegas, January 2020

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Lost Knowledge Of The Ancients

How much truth is there to the legend of the destroyed Library of Alexandria?

Written by Jonathan Gordon

Few images of the ancient world evoke the destructive nature of humanity and how easily we can be lured into barbarism than the legendary destruction of the Library of Alexandria. We hear of an enormous collection of books, a mission to collect all the knowledge of the world, a centre of scholarship and discovery. And then it all goes up in smoke – destroyed, maliciously or not, when other concerns took precedence. But there are many versions of that tale, so which is mostly likely to be true and what was really lost from Alexandria?

First we need to look at the city itself. Why was it even a candidate for housing so much information and attracting so many of the great minds of the age? It has a lot to do with geography and cultural trends. Alexandria, one of many cities by this name established by Alexander the Great during his conquests, was established in 331 BCE on the Nile Delta, a vibrant trading hub that made it easily accessible to the Mediterranean world. After Alexander's death and the breakup of his empire among four of his top commanders – Cassander, Ptolemy, Antigonus and Seleucus – Alexandria was chosen as Ptolemy's capital as he took over the line of pharaohs.

Under Ptolemy, the influence of Greek culture expanded in the city and across Egypt. "The Ptolemaic Dynasty were Greek, and they bought Greek ideas about civilisation, about culture, about the organisation of city states. And with them came the idea of libraries," says Richard Ovenden OBE, Bodley's Librarian at the University of Oxford. "The library was established by the founding rulers of Alexandria, the great Ptolemaic dynasties ▶

EXPERT BIOS

RICHARD OVENDEN OBE
Bodley Librarian, University of Oxford
Richard Ovenden was made the senior executive of the Bodleian Library in 2014 having worked at the House of Lords Library, among others. He is the author of *Burning The Books: A History Of Knowledge Under Attack*, available now in hardback and in paperback on 27 May from John Murray Press.

REVIEL NETZ
Professor of classics and philosophy, Stanford University
Professor Netz has written extensively on the history of mathematics. His most recent book – *Scale, Space And Canon In Ancient Literary Culture* from Cambridge University Press – explores the important role literature played in the history of Ancient Greece.

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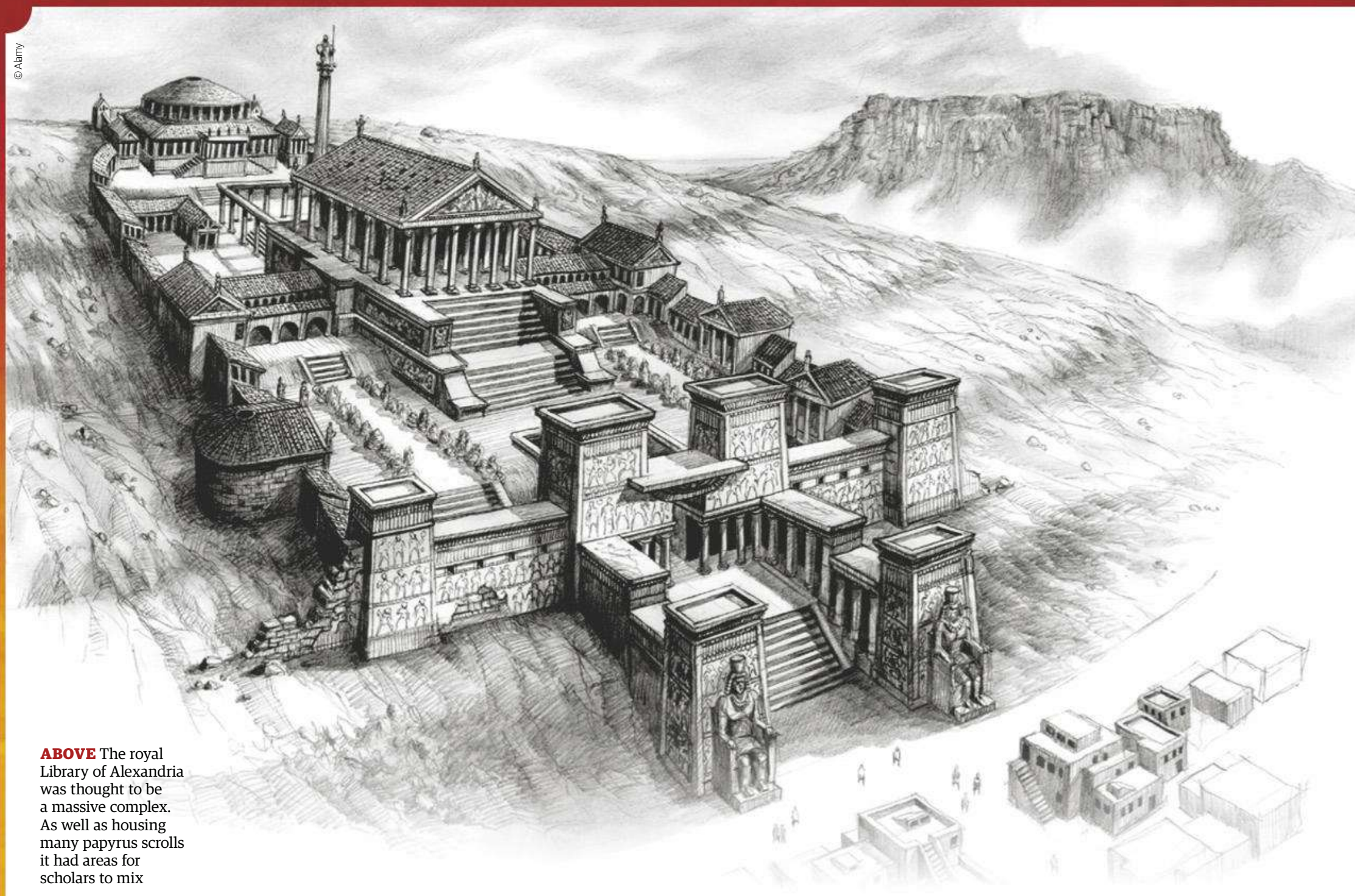

ABOVE The royal Library of Alexandria was thought to be a massive complex. As well as housing many papyrus scrolls it had areas for scholars to mix

BELOW Was Julius Caesar to blame for the destruction of the Library of Alexandria?

in the third century BCE. So it's intimately linked with royal power with the state. And so the library becomes a symbol of state authority, state power, state prestige, and in its early history that association with the library and the city of Alexandria are absolutely critically linked."

But there was both a push and a pull factor to the way Alexandria would build up its intellectual reputation. "Following the end of Athens' major presence as a political centre, many cultural forms that were especially associated with the city of Athens and its public culture became less viable because they had become so powerfully associated with that city," explains Professor Reviel Netz of Stanford University, an expert in the history of pre-modern mathematics. "There was an opening for a new kind of cultural expression, more 'bookish' and less based on performance."

Thus the tragedies, Socratic dialogues and other performative, oratory works lost their popularity and the study of written works rose up. "Alexandria became the major city for this new kind of literature primarily because it was, by far, the biggest and wealthiest city," adds Netz.

So it was that Alexandria grew its reputation as a hub for intellectuals and the sharing of knowledge, although it was by no means alone in this respect. "It was not 'unique' – the greatest scientist, Archimedes, was active in Syracuse – but it was preeminent and Archimedes certainly corresponded with authors in Alexandria," Netz tells us.

Ovenden adds: "What was unique about it was the size and scale of the collections and the association of the collections in the library with what we now call scholarship. It wasn't just a place where lots of books were stored and kept – it had a community of scholars attached to it who were part of its royal patronage, and those scholars were famous in the ancient world. They generated new knowledge because of their access to the learning in the library, and also because of their community that they formed in one of the libraries."

> "The library becomes a symbol of state authority, state power and state prestige"

Even the abundance of books owes something to the location of the library. "The thing to realise is that papyrus, especially in Egypt, was abundant and there were plenty of well-stocked libraries," explains Netz. "Alexandria had plenty of books but most of them would have been owned by elite members other than the kings."

This combination of an abundance of books or scrolls alongside the royal patronage of the Ptolemaic Dynasty made Alexandria an attractive place to study, and important discoveries and ideas can be traced back to it. "There were three famous scholars who worked in the library," Ovenden tells us. "Euclid, the father of geometry, came to Alexandria. His *Elements* on geometry is regarded as one of the founding texts of mathematics. The other most famous is Archimedes, the father of engineering, who was

brought to Alexandria through his friendship with one of the librarians, Apollonius Rhodius. It was while at Alexandria that he observed the rising and falling of the Nile and he developed the famous Archimedes screw as a means of moving liquids up and down. Then perhaps the final person to mention is another one of the librarians, Eratosthenes, who while at Alexandria calculated the circumference of the Earth – the first person to have done so."

Professor Netz offers us some additional discoveries we can attribute at least in part to work done in Alexandria: "Medical authors such as Erasistratus and Herophilus pioneered medical research. They had a very precise understanding of human anatomy, and to a significant extent of human physiology, based on dissections and perhaps even human vivisections." He also highlights the way in which scholars of different disciplines were able to influence one another in this shared space. "There is definitely a considerable spillover of scholarship and attitudes between the disciplines. Herophilus, studying the pulse with the aid of mathematical ideas of musical rhythm, comes to mind. Even more interesting (and more surprising from a modern perspective) is the degree of hybridisation of science and literature, with mathematicians writing in poetic form and poets showing awareness of science."

It seems clear that Alexandria was a prominent intellectual capital in the Hellenistic period and great minds were drawn to work there as a result, but what about the Library itself? For a start we need to determine which library we mean. There were actually at least two major libraries in the city of Alexandria, not to mention many private collections. Typically when we talk about the Library of Alexandria we mean the royal or imperial library that was attached to the Mouseion in the palace area of the city. And it appears no expense was spared to fill its shelves with material.

"There seems to be a fair amount of evidence that there was an instruction or a law that any boats coming into the harbour at Alexandria that had books on them (and we're talking about papyrus scrolls at this time) had to give them up so they could be copied in the library then returned to the merchants and to the vessels in the harbour," explains Ovenden. "I think that also gives a sense of how central the library was to the life of the city." Some accounts also suggest that the copies of the scrolls, rather than the originals, were handed back to the merchants.

It's likely from practices such as this that the legend of the Library of Alexandria attempting to accumulate all the knowledge of the world came about, mirroring perhaps the effort of the city's namesake to conquer the world. But is there any truth to this mission? "I don't think we really know what the guiding principles around the collection were," says Ovenden. "All that we

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ABOVE A illustration of the founding of the Library by Ptolemy I Soter

Which story is true?

We cross examine the three likely culprits

Julius Caesar

HUNG JURY

THE ACCUSATION

Having pursued his enemy Pompey into Egypt and become embroiled in the dynastic civil war between Cleopatra and her brother Ptolemy XIII, Caesar found himself trapped by the Egyptian fleet in Alexandria in 48 BCE. He set fire to the fleet, but the fire spread to the docks and the nearby Library of Alexandria, destroying its delicate papyrus contents.

RULING

Caesar himself described the burning of the ships at Alexandria but made no mention of the fire spreading. Contemporary and near-contemporary historians didn't mention it either. Books in storage at the docks may have burned, but the Library almost certainly survived.

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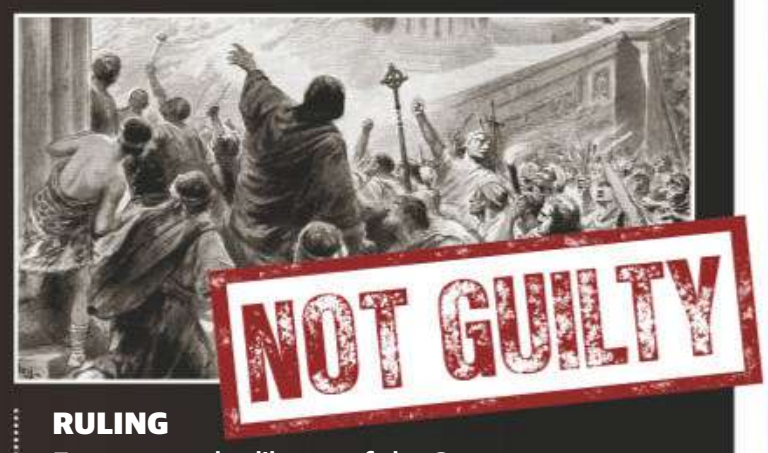
Christians



NOT GUILTY

THE ACCUSATION

In 391 CE, under orders of Pope Theophilus of Alexandria, a crackdown on pagan worship, imagery and study was authorised. The Library of Alexandria became a target since it was attached to the great pagan temple of the city, the Serapeum. A mob stormed the building, sending its priests and priestesses fleeing for safety. In some accounts the mathematician and philosopher Hypatia was killed in the attacks.

RULING

For a start, the library of the Serapeum was separate from the great, or royal, library we typically refer to as the Library of Alexandria. If this attack did take place, it wasn't against the main collection of knowledge in the city. Second, sources make no mention of any library when the temple was converted to Christianity so it may already have been defunct.

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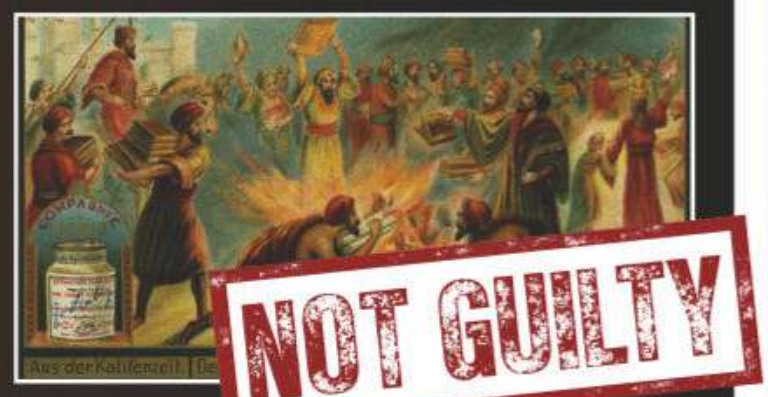
Muslims



NOT GUILTY

THE ACCUSATION

In 642 the city of Alexandria was captured by the Rashidun Caliphate as a Muslim army swept through the region and took Egypt. Under the orders of Caliph Omar, the army looked to attack the Library of Alexandria because the contents either contradicted the *Quran*, which would be blasphemous, or agreed with it, in which case the content was redundant. The scrolls were burned as fuel for the city's bathhouses.

RULING

There is no discernible evidence for these claims, which are unclear at best and outright propaganda against the Muslims at worst. Not least, it's based on the premise that the Muslims were somehow against the availability and study of knowledge outside the *Quran*, but many of the texts, especially Jewish and Christian works, would be no less sacred to Muslims.

© Getty Images

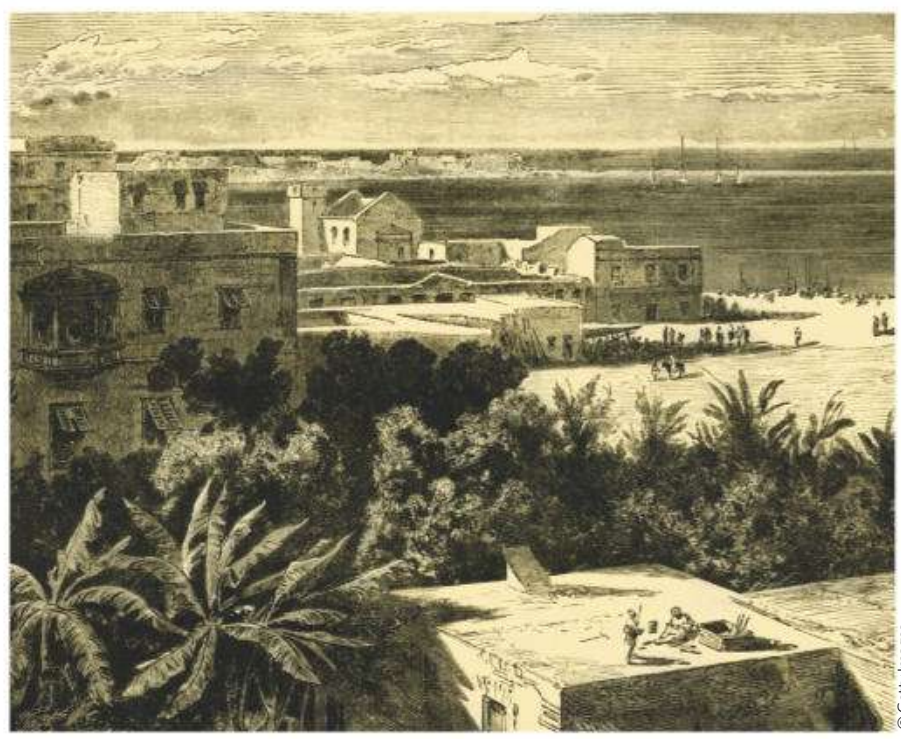
really know is that it was big by ancient standards. The ancient writers disagree about how many books were in the library, but they all agree that it was a very large number."

Indeed, estimates on the size of the collection vary greatly. Byzantine scholar Johannes Tzetzes claimed the library held 400,000 mixed books and 90,000 unmixed books. Gellius claimed that in the time of Julius Caesar the library held 700,000 scrolls. But such numbers seem to be largely dismissed by researchers today. "Modern scholars have said there is no way that there were even that many texts in the ancient world to have created a library of that size. So these numbers are very, very exaggerated," says Ovenden.

The Library was perhaps not as large or as comprehensive as some tales would have us believe, but it was certainly impressive and highly valued as an institution. And we know that it was lost at some point – but when and how? This is where we encounter the biggest myths of the Library of Alexandria. The destruction of the Library comes up on numerous occasions and is blamed on different figures across hundreds of years. The first is Caesar, who supposedly caused a fire in the Library by accident having burned the Egyptian fleet in the nearby harbour. Then fanatical Christians were blamed as they sought to destroy the pagan temples attached to the Library. Finally the Muslim empire has been blamed, accused of fuelling the city's bathhouses by burning all books that contradicted the *Quran*.

Which is true? "There were conflagrations, the most important of which was in 48 BCE with the war between Caesar and Ptolemy, in which there were well-attested battles in Alexandria, some of which seem to have created the destruction of books," states Ovenden. "Now what modern scholars seem to think is that this was really in the dockyard area, and that a warehouse that may have contained books that were being gathered from ships on route to or coming back from the library got caught up in the battle."

Likewise the sources regarding later attacks on the Library are either sparse in detail or very clearly biased in their attacks on a particular enemy culture. The truth may be something a little more mundane, but no less destructive or depressing. "The consensus now is much more that this is a symbol of decline in the status of the library, and neglect," says Ovenden. "Of course papyrus is a very fragile medium: it's organic matter, it's near the sea, it's a very humid climate, and mould can grow easily on such things. It's less durable than the successor medium that supplanted papyrus, which was parchment. The Library's growth declined due to a combination of not keeping up with



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More Great Ancient Libraries

Alexandria was just one legendary repository of knowledge

Royal Library of Ashurbanipal

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ESTABLISHED: 7TH CENTURY BCE

Considered to be one of the most important archaeological discoveries ever made, the Library of Ashurbanipal is a collection of 30,000 clay tablets written in cuneiform from Mesopotamia. They were found together in northern Iraq in the 1840s in what would have been the city of Nineveh.

The Library of Pergamum

ESTABLISHED: 3RD CENTURY BCE

Situated in modern Turkey, the Library of Pergamum was a contemporary collection to Alexandria and often considered to be equally impressive. When the export of papyrus was banned from Egypt, parchment was adopted by the library to continue copying books, which proved more durable.

The Library of Celsus

ESTABLISHED: 2ND CENTURY CE

One of the first structures excavated from the ancient city of Ephesus, the entrance to the Library of Celsus can still be seen today. The Roman-built library is thought to have contained 12,000 scrolls and at its entrance had statues representing the virtues of wisdom, character, judgement and expertise.

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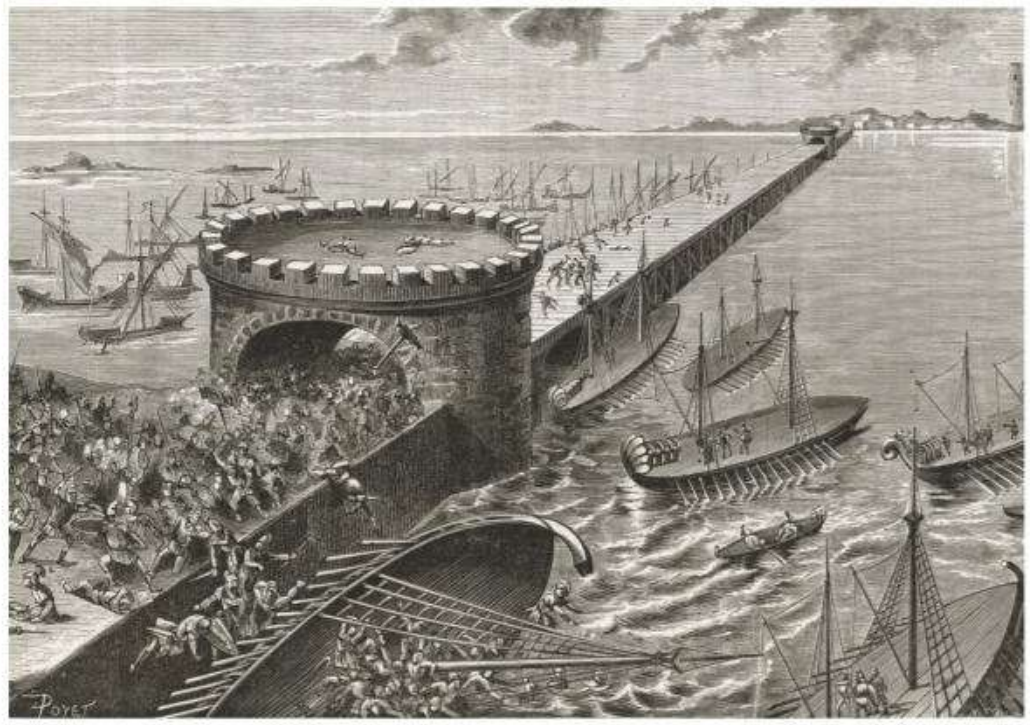
Imperial Library of Constantinople

ESTABLISHED: 4TH CENTURY CE

Byzantine Constantinople featured four major libraries, the greatest of which was the imperial or emperor's library that was established around the same time as the capital was moved to the city. They stood for a thousand years, preserving ancient writings for generations to come.



technological change and the declining status the royal patronage that was so important to its foundation and to its early history – and its fame. And it almost certainly would have seen fires or other kinds of accidents or destructive acts, which meant that the library didn't get rebuilt or its collections didn't get replaced."

So the Library of Alexandria may just have been victim to changing priorities over the course of decades, losing funding and support and gradually declining. The site itself is believed to have fallen into the sea, making it very hard to confirm any physical evidence. However, the idea of gradual decline seems very plausible, not least because this scenario was far from unique to Alexandria. "The loss of books from antiquity happened very gradually. In each generation some works were copied, others were not. There was a more significant loss as literature was

"Ancient writers disagree about how many books were in the library, but they all agree that it was enormous"

copied from papyrus to parchment, which happens in the fourth century CE," Professor Netz tells us. But he reminds us that Alexandria was not the only home for such information anyway: "There was no single catastrophic event and certainly burning a single big library made a small difference. There were always plenty of libraries."

While there may not have been one catastrophic event that saw the Library of Alexandria destroyed, and while there were other collections around the world, thanks to other records we still have a sense that some knowledge was lost. Netz says: "I estimate that there were about 30,000 authors active in antiquity, of whom the names are still recorded for about 5,000 and about 300 are still extant (though for most of them, at least some of the works are lost). From Alexandria, our main loss is that of the medical authors who are now known only through later reports, mostly by Galen. They are in a very real sense the founders of scientific medicine."

ABOVE The shared space of the Alexandrian library, and the patronage available there, allowed many scholars to flourish

ABOVE-RIGHT Caesar's involvement in the Ptolemaic civil war between Cleopatra and Ptolemy XIII may have put the palace complex in peril

Ovenden adds: "There are gaps in our knowledge of ancient writers like, say, Sapho, where we only have scraps or fragments of her output. The idea that there would have been more comprehensive collections of ancient writers in Alexandria, even writers like Aristotle, is almost certainly the case. There would have been unique knowledge that would have been held in the collection that has been lost or that no other copy has survived from the ancient world. If Alexandria had survived, we would at least have had access to those texts from that collection."

The true story of the Library of Alexandria may lack the drama of its myths but the lesson for today is no less potent: neglecting the preservation of knowledge could be costly. It's a concern that drives some of Ovenden's work today. "There's a growing field called digital preservation, which I'm very involved with and most libraries and archives are now very concerned about," he explains. "That attempts to address part of the reasons why I think Alexandria declined. It's not just about the technology but about both the organisational and political and social aspects of the preservation of knowledge. It's to do with funding it, recognising it as being important, recognising it as having significance for society, and supporting it both in terms of its status but also in terms of giving it money."

RIGHT Scholars are thought to have been drawn to Alexandria from across the Mediterranean

OPPOSITE The harbour at Alexandria would have seen merchants from across the Mediterranean bringing goods and scrolls into the city

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THE LOST CITY OF GREAT ZIMBABWE

Revealing one of the wealthiest and most influential dynasties of medieval Africa

When Great Zimbabwe was unearthed in the late-19th century in what was soon to become Southern Rhodesia (also referred to as South Zambezia), neither the German explorers who discovered it nor many academics believed that Africans in the medieval period were capable of building such a place.

The inherent racism at the height of British domination over the continent led first to the theory that the city was linked to the biblical figures of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, then to the assumption that the city must have been constructed by immigrant settlers from Arabia and the Middle East. In fact, Great Zimbabwe is now believed to have been constructed around the 11th century and inhabited until the 15th century by the Shona-Bantu people, native of Africa.

Great Zimbabwe, from whence the modern state takes its name, is thought to be a contracted word from 'dzimba-dza-mabwe', which means 'houses of stone', though archaeologist Peter Garlake thought "it might be better derived from 'dzimba woye', meaning venerated houses". The word may have first been used just for the houses of the chiefs or senior members of the tribe, then it was subsequently applied to all of the houses in the ruins.

Great Zimbabwe lies 30.5km south-east of Masvingo and around 322km south of Harare. Its towering walls - which surround the Great Enclosure, one of the largest ancient structures in sub-Saharan Africa - are six metres wide at the bottom, reach 11 metres from the ground at their highest point, and are composed of nearly one million stones. They're not only a testament to the people who built them, but also reveal the enormous wealth and prestige of the ancient city.

Great Zimbabwe was the capital of a kingdom of the same name, which covered most of the modern-day state as well as parts of neighbouring countries, stretching from the Zambezi River to the Limpopo River in the south. The Great Enclosure is the name given to the walled town or city itself, but is in fact surrounded by the ruins of settlements spread over 7.22km^2, including a hill complex and a valley complex, which would have housed up to 18,000 people.

One of the greatest marvels of the Great Enclosure - and also the most iconic - is the Conical Tower, which at ten metres tall sits between two of the great towering walls. In post-colonial Zimbabwe, it has become a famous symbol as the logo of President Emmerson Mnangagwa's ruling Zanu-PF party, as well as the central image on banknotes and coins.

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Graphic: wiki/Mangwanani

GLOBALISATION AND THE MIDDLE AGES

We often think about the Middle Ages as a period when people stayed within the confines of their local town or area. Indeed, travel was much more challenging than it would become in the later Early Modern period. But that is not to say there was no travel in the Middle Ages. Universities during this time at Bologna, Paris and Oxford were abundant with foreign students and scholars from across Europe, and there was even a school at Toledo as early as the 11th century, specialising in the translation and tuition of Arabic texts. European explorers like Marco Polo had also ventured as far as the Mongol court of the Khans in the 13th century, while contact between North Africa and Europe had been established in the Roman era.

Often, however, it is easy to fall into the trap of viewing the world through European eyes when in fact there is lots of evidence that non-European communities, including the great Shona kingdoms like Great Zimbabwe, were trading and had built their own connections with China, India and the Arabic kingdoms.

The Swahili coast in particular was a melting pot of ideas and commerce. Towns such as Kilwa Kisiwani and the Kingdom of Mapungubwe appeared to have formed somewhat of a trading hub or network with Great Zimbabwe across the region, with archaeological evidence suggesting there were strong connections between them. The influence of Arabic culture can be seen in Kilwa architecture, and it's also thought that in order to shore up their legitimacy, Kilwa legend falsely told that the settlement was founded by Arabic people.

One of the recent finds in Great Zimbabwe is a Chinese porcelain dish from the Ming dynasty. Archaeologists have, surprisingly, dated it to the 16th century, which could suggest the settlement wasn't abandoned at the time the Portuguese visited. But this does raise questions about why 16th-century Portuguese visitors described the city as ruined.

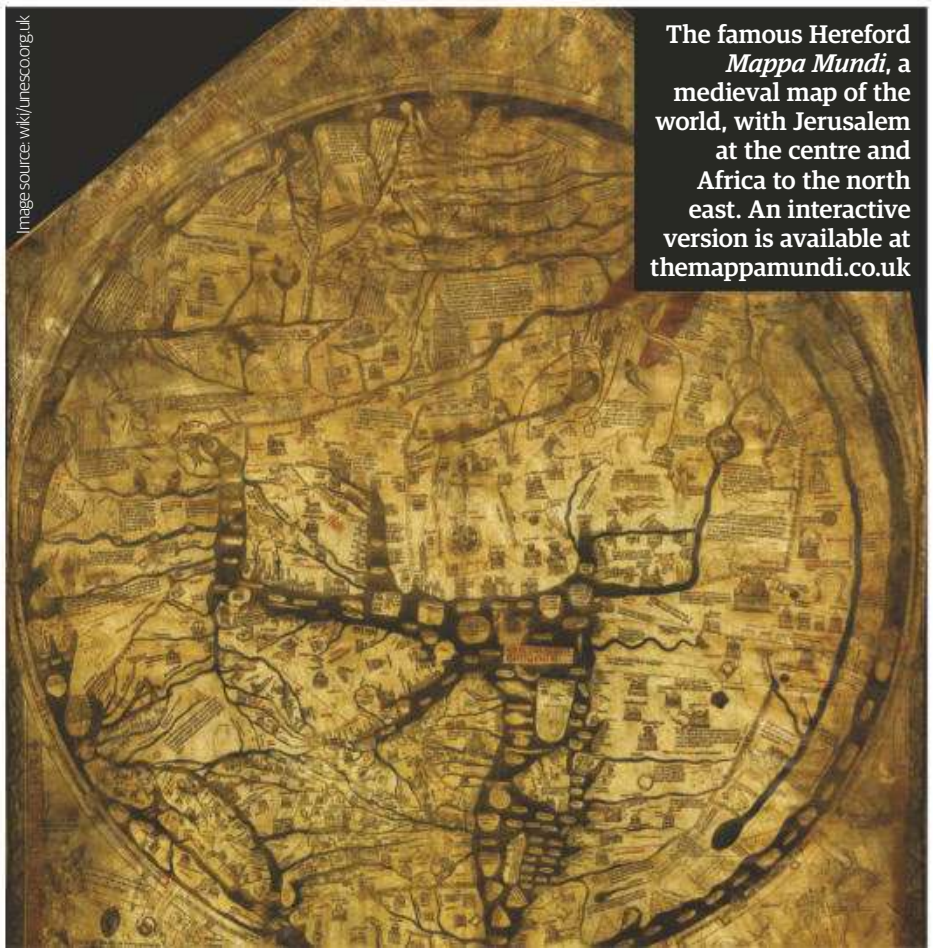


Image source: wiki/unesco.org.uk

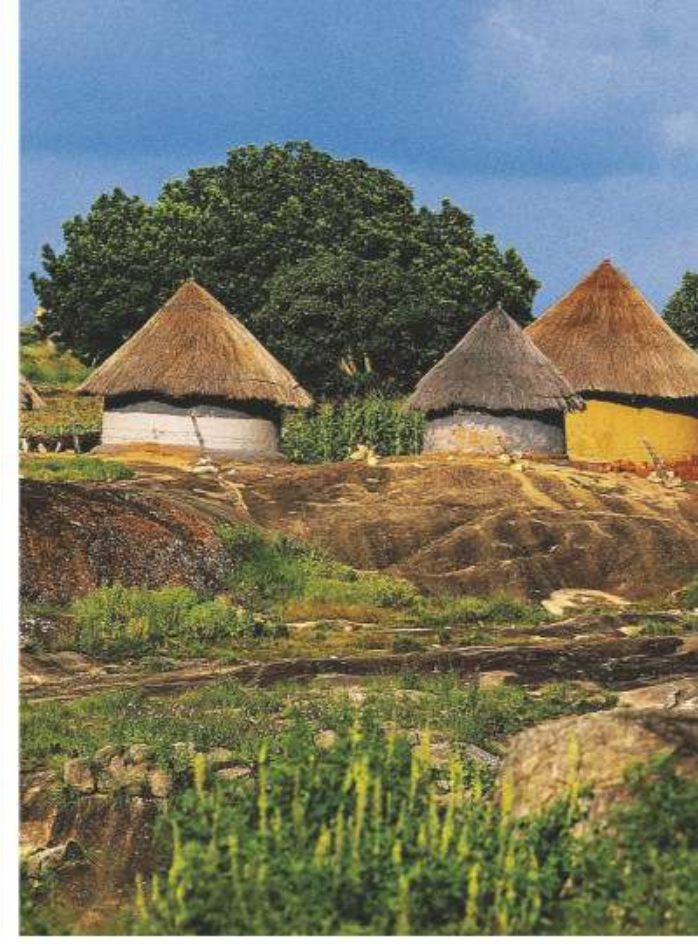
The famous Hereford *Mappa Mundi*, a medieval map of the world, with Jerusalem at the centre and Africa to the north east. An interactive version is available at themappamundi.co.uk

There are many theories as to the purpose of the Conical Tower. Richard Wade of the Nkwe Ridge Observatory Institute in Pretoria claims that the entire site might have acted a bit like Stonehenge, and that the tower itself could have been an observatory that was designed to view the explosion of a supernova in the constellation of Vela. The explosion happened around 11,000-12,000 years ago but the light would only have reached Earth around 700-800 years ago.

It's believed that the complexity and vastness of the kingdom was because the Shona inhabitants controlled the lucrative gold mines of the Zimbabwean plateau. Indeed, an array of golden jewellery was found at the settlement.

That gold was probably then taken to other settlements on the Swahili coast, most notably Kilwa Kisiwani, but also the Kingdom of Mapungubwe, where golden rhinos were found buried in the royal tombs. This gold was then traded with China, India and the Middle East, turning East Africa into an important medieval trading post.

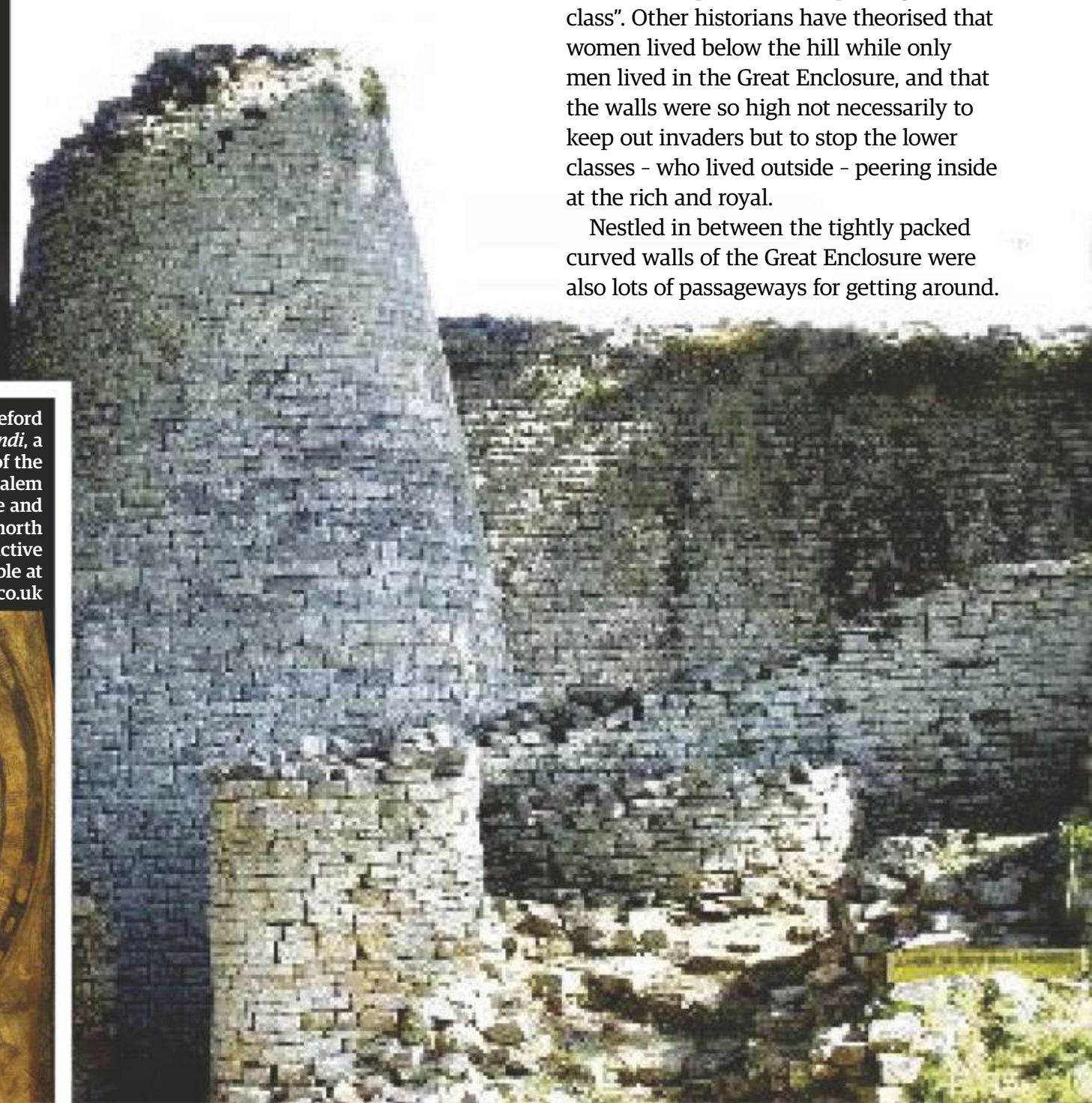
Although the walls and some of the structures were made from stone, many of the houses found in Great Zimbabwe were in the daga style, which was a simple mud and thatch construction. Later on, the walls would connect to the daga houses to form courtyards.

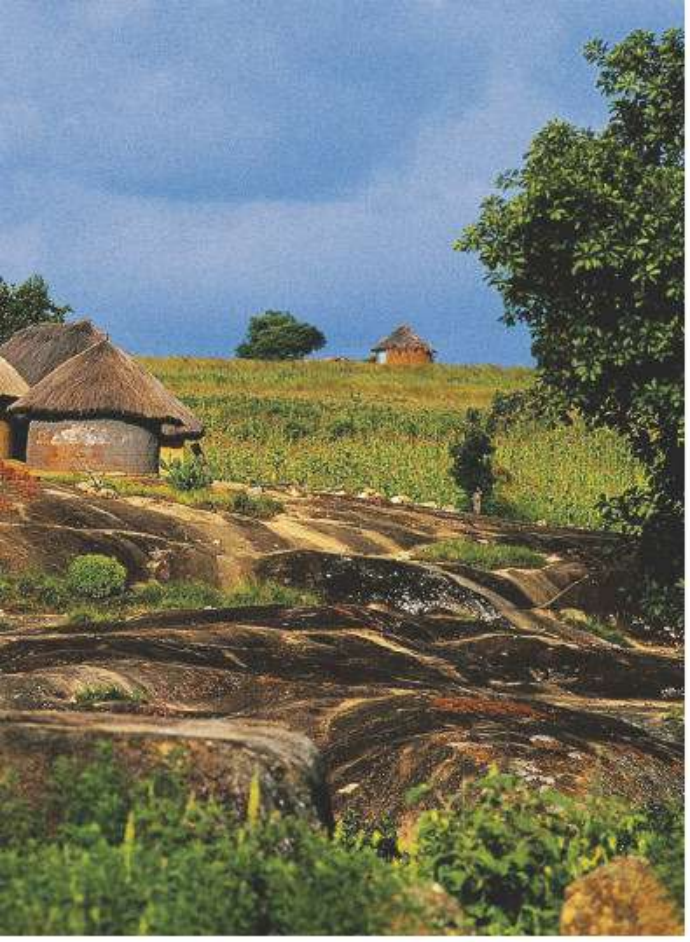


Many archaeologists have concluded from the wealth of the city that Great Zimbabwe was a rigidly hierarchical society. They point to the few huts within the Enclosure itself, with those outside being more tightly packed and cramped.

It has also been suggested that only the finest cuts of meat were eaten inside the Enclosure, leading to suggestions by authors Martin Hall and Rebecca Stefoff that those ordinary citizens living on the outside voluntarily handed over their meat to the "powerful and privileged class". Other historians have theorised that women lived below the hill while only men lived in the Great Enclosure, and that the walls were so high not necessarily to keep out invaders but to stop the lower classes – who lived outside – peering inside at the rich and royal.

Nestled in between the tightly packed curved walls of the Great Enclosure were also lots of passageways for getting around.





There are many theories about what these may have been used for. Perhaps they were a way of managing the flow and traffic of the settlement to make it easier to get around. Another, much more intriguing theory is that the passageways played into the hierarchical nature of Great Zimbabwe: different classes of people within the Great Enclosure may have used different passages to get around.

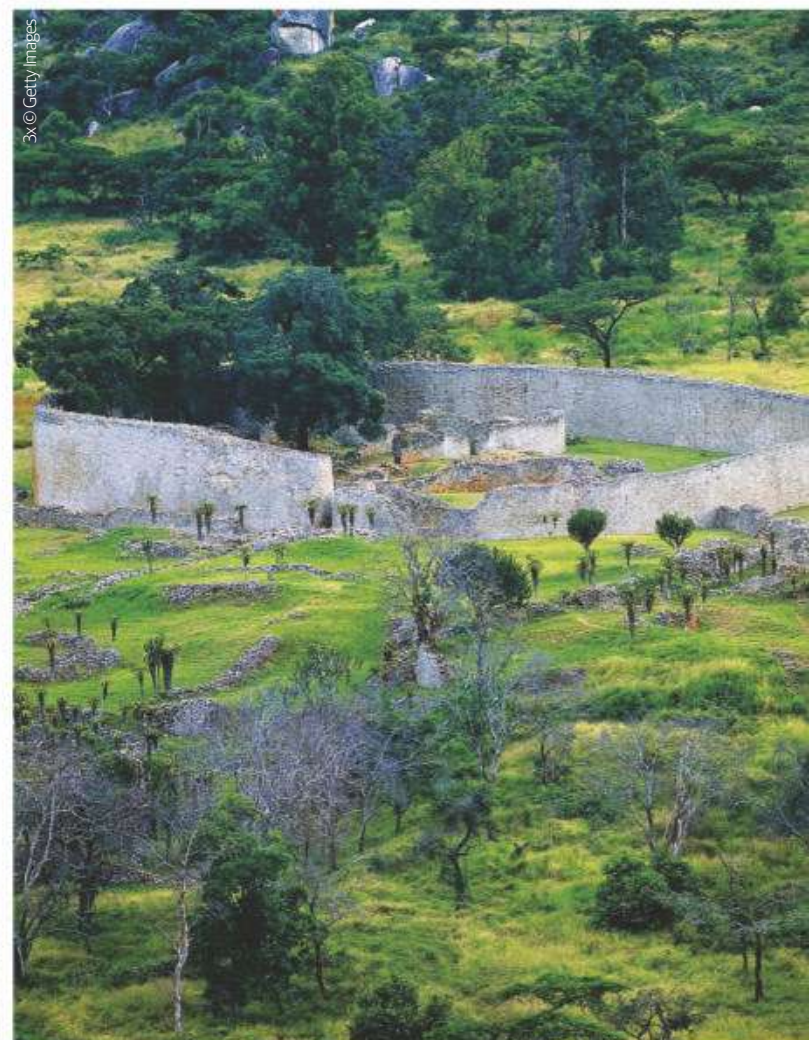
At its height during the 14th century, Great Zimbabwe, including the Great Enclosure, Hill Complex and surrounding ruins, were home to 10,000-20,000 people, though historian Gus Casely-Hayford suggests it may have been as high as 25,000. To put that into perspective, the poll tax returns of 1377 suggest London had a population of about 40,000 but the two next biggest towns – York in the north and Bristol, the great trading port in the south – only had populations of about 10,000, half of that of Great Zimbabwe. Although Great Zimbabwe had a large population, only 200-300 people seemed to have lived in the Great Enclosure, perhaps further evidence that the Enclosure was the home of the elite.

So who were the people who occupied this city? The Shona people were and remain the largest grouping in Zimbabwe, and their language, also called Shona, is still widely spoken. They are known for farming, ironwork, pottery and music. Integral to their culture is their spiritual relationship with their ancestors. This emphasis on the past has been instrumental in the passing down of information through generations, and explains how researchers have been able to piece together even the small amounts of information we have about Great Zimbabwe.

The city appears to have gone into decline some time around the end of the 15th century. Archaeologists such as Webber Ndoro have suggested this may have been because of the sheer number of people who lived there and the impact this eventually had on the local ecosystem. This would make sense, because we know that cattle played quite an important part in the culture. Great Zimbabwe may later have been used as a religious site but by the time Portuguese colonists arrived in the 16th century it had been abandoned.

After the Portuguese, it wasn't until the 19th century that Europeans discovered Great Zimbabwe again. A German trader found the ruins and then showed them to his friend, explorer and geographer Karl Mauch, some years later.

"DIFFERENT CLASSES OF PEOPLE MAY HAVE USED DIFFERENT PASSAGES TO GET AROUND"



3x © Getty Images

LEFT
Traditional huts outside the ruins of Great Zimbabwe

RIGHT
The towering walls of the Great Enclosure which may have acted as a barrier between the Shona elites and those who inhabited the surrounding settlement

BELOW-RIGHT
The ruins of a fort at Great Zimbabwe

BELOW
Another view of the Conical Tower set among the ruins. Here you can see the intertwining nature of the walls and structures, which have come to be known as the Great Enclosure

Image source: wiki/Marius Loots

The crowded French centre was defended by blue-jacketed citizen volunteers (left) and white-uniformed regulars (right)

BATTLE OF VALMY

FRANCE, 20 SEPTEMBER 1792

Written by William E Welsh

On 14 July 1789, Parisians fed up with the French monarchy's obstruction of reforms had stormed the Bastille, the oppressive fortress of the monarch, King Louis XVI. It was the first outbreak of violence in what would become one of the bloodiest revolutions in modern European history. The turbulence within France compelled 6,000 officers of the French Royal Army to leave the country. Once outside France, the émigrés plotted with sympathetic foreign powers to stamp out the fires of revolution.

Idealistic men throughout France responded to the Assembly's call for volunteers. Prussian King Frederick William II and Austrian King Leopold II agreed between themselves that the best course of action was to invade France, crush the revolutionaries and restore Louis. They formally

General Kellermann began his military career as a cadet when he was 15

image source: Rama

Image source: wiki/The National Gallery

announced a military alliance in February 1792 that led to the formation of the First Coalition. Two months later, France declared war on Austria. Prussia, Austria and Savoy positioned forces alongside France's eastern border, where they were joined by the émigrés.

The coalition chose the Duke of Brunswick to lead the Austro-Prussian invasion force. A nephew of Frederick the Great, Brunswick was a cautious commander who believed in fighting a war by manoeuvre rather than sluggish battles. King William accompanied the army into France.

Brunswick's adversary was French general Charles François Dumouriez. In August 1792, the French revolutionary government appointed Dumouriez and General François de Kellermann to command France's Army of the North and Army of the Centre respectively. Both men were brave, self-confident and charismatic. The challenge facing the French commanders was to meld an army composed of regulars from the old army with volunteers of questionable quality.

Kellermann may have found the answer. To enhance the stability of his infantry brigades, he combined one battalion of regulars with two battalions of volunteers. He believed this was the best way to remedy the tendency of the volunteers to panic in combat. The battle that loomed on the horizon would test his new idea.

Although it seemed as if the veteran Prussian army had enormous advantages, this was not the case. First, the Prussians had a flawed logistics system. Second, the Prussian artillery corps was inferior to its French counterpart, which had instituted sweeping reforms beginning in 1776. Due to the prestige associated with serving in the French artillery, the veteran artillerymen had not deserted like many of the infantrymen.

Brunswick's plan was for Austrian and Prussian forces to unite in Lorraine and fight their way to Paris. The Prussian main body departed Coblenz on 3 August. Advancing at a snail's pace, the Prussians didn't reach the border for almost three weeks. The French border fortresses of Longwy and Verdun were lightly garrisoned and they fell to the coalition force on 23 August and 3 September respectively.

The next challenge for Brunswick was to get his army through the woods and swamps of the Argonne Forest, which could only be traversed by a large army on five major roads. The Prussian encampment at Verdun lay on the road to Chalons.

It passed through the villages of Clermont, Les Islettes and Sainte-Menehould before arriving on a plateau near Valmy.

Continual rain throughout the campaign made the lives of Brunswick's soldiers miserable. The Prussians remained at Verdun for one week, and the officers made no attempt to ensure they had proper sanitation. The long delay at Verdun was due, in large parts, to a disagreement between Brunswick and King William over the next stage of the campaign. Brunswick wanted to postpone a further advance until the following spring when the weather would be better. During that time, the Prussians would establish forward bases with food and ammunition to support a spring offensive. But King William vetoed Brunswick's plan because he believed that Louis XVI's life was at stake, and therefore it was imperative to reach Paris as soon as possible. In the end, the king prevailed.

At the start of the Prussian offensive, Dumouriez was in Valenciennes. He led his troops south to Sedan, arriving in the city on the Meuse River on 28 August. Three days later, he received orders from Servan instructing him to intercept Brunswick. To assist Dumouriez, Servan ordered Kellermann, who was based at Metz, to join him as soon as possible.

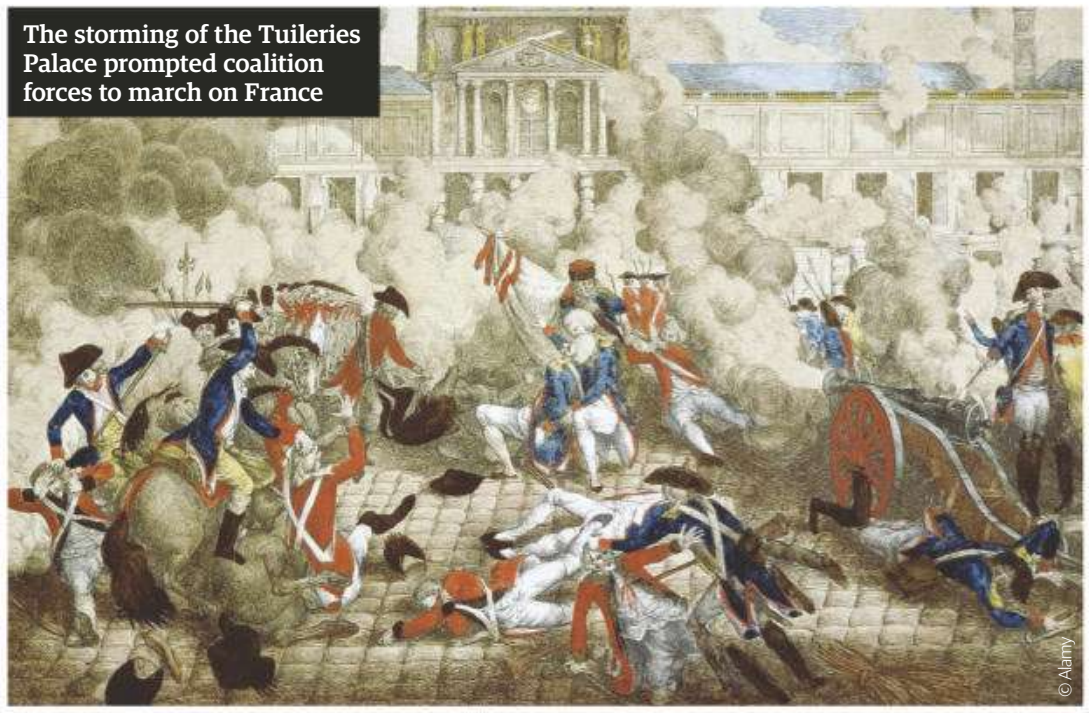
When Count von Clerfayt, commander of the Austrian contingent, crossed the Meuse on 31 August, Dumouriez was forced to fall back west. He marched through the Argonne Forest and took up a position on 4 September at Grandpre. Prone to grumbling when things went badly, Brunswick reluctantly led his army north from Verdun on 10 September. The Prussian main body marched a short distance to Landres and halted; this put them directly opposite the French army at Grandpre.

Dumouriez had left a minor detachment at Croix-aux-Bois on his left flank, which covered the lower of two northern roads through the Argonne. On 12 September, Clerfayt's hussars scattered the 100 French muskets guarding the defile. A French counterattack the next day by a division-sized force under General Jean Pierre Chazot failed to retake it.

The French main body broke camp on 15 September and headed towards Sainte-Menehould. As Chazot's infantry marched through the fields

A reconstruction of the windmill near Valmy is today a key landmark of the battlefield

Image source: Хрюша



The storming of the Tuileries Palace prompted coalition forces to march on France

© Alamy

near Moncheutin, Prussian hussars charged them. Caught off guard, the French panicked.

Dumouriez was deploying his forces east of Valmy to await Kellermann when he learned of the rout. He rode north to help round up as many of the demoralised troops as possible. Brunswick, whose army was having a difficult time crossing through the Argonne on muddy roads, did not take advantage of the situation.

Kellermann immediately tied into Dumouriez's left flank, extending it across the Chalons Road. The French army was further strengthened by the arrival of General Pierre de Ruel, marquis of Beurnonville, with a corps that had been guarding Chalons.

The Prussian main body completed its passage through the Argonne on 18 September. Meanwhile, Dumouriez and Kellermann engaged in a heated conversation about the best placement of Kellermann's units. Dumouriez advised him to deploy on the low hills around Valmy, but Kellermann favoured deploying on the south side of the Auve River. If the Prussians attacked, his men would be in a much better defensive position behind the river, insisted Kellermann. Since Dumouriez was not his superior, Kellermann was free to do as he saw best.

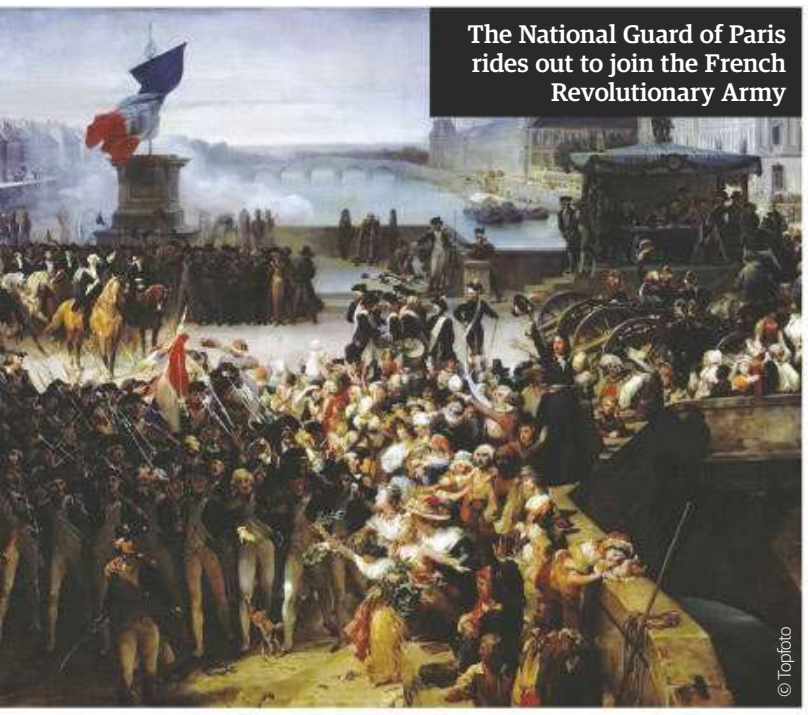
A thick fog blanketed the hills and valleys of western Lorraine on the morning of 20 September. The prince of Hohenlohe, whose troops had joined the Prussian main body, led the advance south at 6am. A French battery opened fire on the Prussian advanced guard as it pushed south along the Heights of La Lune. When Kellermann heard the cannonading to his west, he countermanded his order to deploy south of the Auve. He decided the best option was to deploy west of Valmy as Dumouriez had suggested. Because of this, Kellermann's Army of the Centre would bear the brunt of the fighting that day, and Dumouriez would feed reinforcements to him as needed.

At 7am Kellermann led the main body of his army across the fields towards a low hill west of Valmy, topped by a windmill. Although the French could hear the Prussians and vice versa, the blanket of fog prevented the opposing lines from seeing each other.

While Prussian and French troops skirmished at La Lune, Hohenlohe ordered six batteries to unlimber their guns on the Heights of La Lune. When the fog burned off later in the day, the battlefield of Valmy would prove to be an artillerist's dream. From their positions atop low hills, the artillery crews of both sides would enjoy expansive, virtually uninterrupted fields of fire.

Kellermann had sent as many as two dozen regiments, as well as four artillery batteries, to deploy on the low rise west of Valmy. Dumouriez was not idle and ordered Chazot to take the equivalent of a division and reinforce the French left flank at Orbeval. He also ordered Beurnonville to take his corps and position it behind Stengel to reinforce it if necessary. Last, Dumouriez ordered General Alexis Leveneur to advance his division to the right of Stengel and to probe the Prussian left, and weigh the possibility of a flank attack against it.

Across the rolling pastures, about 1.2km to the west, the Prussian forces moved from column to line, taking up a position behind the barking guns. Although the fog prevented them from knowing the enemy's strength, they squandered any chance to disrupt Kellermann's deployment.



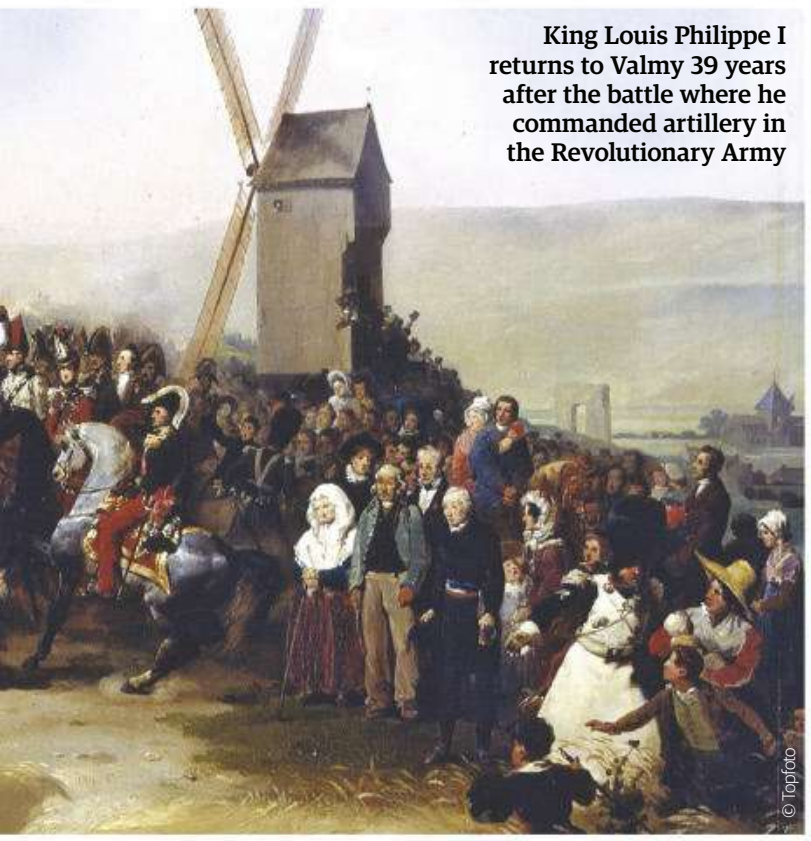
The National Guard of Paris rides out to join the French Revolutionary Army

© Topfoto

Brunswick arrived with King William at about mid-morning, and sent several members of his staff to reconnoitre the French left. Upon their return, they recommended that the Prussian guns should be directed at the French left. Once this was done, they believed that it might be possible to roll up the French left flank. The fog began to slowly disperse in the second half of the morning; as it did, it revealed to the Prussians that the key to the French position was the hill where the windmill stood.

The French troops deployed around La Lune could not withstand the storm of Prussian shells that crashed and exploded all around them and soon withdrew east. Kellermann observed the retreat and ordered Chazot to counterattack but the Prussians had strengthened their position at La Lune and Chazot's men were sharply repulsed. By then it was late morning and the fog was almost completely lifted. The Prussian and French batteries, which were a kilometre apart, began a ferocious duel that would last for most of the day.

Brunswick and his staff were deeply discouraged that their artillery bombardment had inflicted very little damage on the French infantry in its exposed position on the low hills surrounding Valmy. The



King Louis Philippe I returns to Valmy 39 years after the battle where he commanded artillery in the Revolutionary Army

© Topfoto

COALITION ARMY

Image source: wiki/museum-digital.de

CHARLES WILLIAM FERDINAND, DUKE OF BRUNSWICK

A prince in the Holy Roman Empire, the Duke of Brunswick was a renowned field commander and modelled himself after Frederick the Great as what has been termed a 'benevolent despot'. He would go on to fight in the Napoleonic Wars, where he met his end in 1806.

Image source: wiki/Austrian National Library

FRIEDRICH WILHELM, PRINCE OF HOHENLOHE

Hohenlohe enjoyed a long and successful career in the Austrian military, serving in the Seven Years' War, the War of Bavarian Succession and the French Revolutionary Wars. By Valmy he was 59 years old and had been in command of 50,000 men in the Upper Rhine Valley.

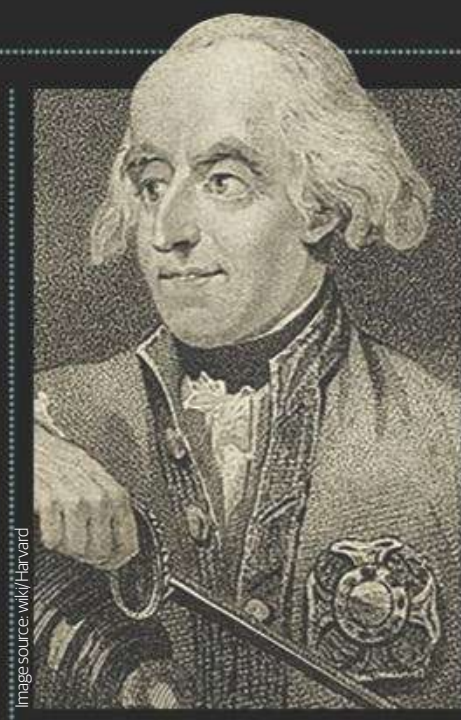


Image source: wiki/Harvard

FRANÇOIS SÉBASTIEN CHARLES JOSEPH DE CROIX, COUNT OF CLERFAYT

The count rose to the rank of field marshal during the Revolutionary Wars, having previously been involved in the Seven Years' War and the in conflict with the Ottoman Empire defending Austria. He was descended from the Walloons, an ethnic group that originated in the Wallonia region of Belgium.

FRENCH

Image source: wiki/allposters.com

CHARLES FRANÇOIS DUMOURIEZ

Although Dumouriez achieved a great victory at Valmy he would end up deserting the Revolutionary Army; he became a royalist working against Napoleon and an adviser to the British. Still, you can see his name inscribed on the Arc de Triomphe.

Image source: wiki/Musée de l'Armée

FRANÇOIS CHRISTOPHE DE KELLERMANN

Also inscribed on the Arc de Triomphe, Kellermann remained with the French through the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars serving as the Général d'Armée, a Marshal of the Empire. His posting at Valmy was so bold even Napoleon later said he would never have dared take it.

20 SEPTEMBER 1792

Prussian commander believed he had no choice left but to try to rattle the nerves of the untested French volunteers by sending his professional soldiers against them.

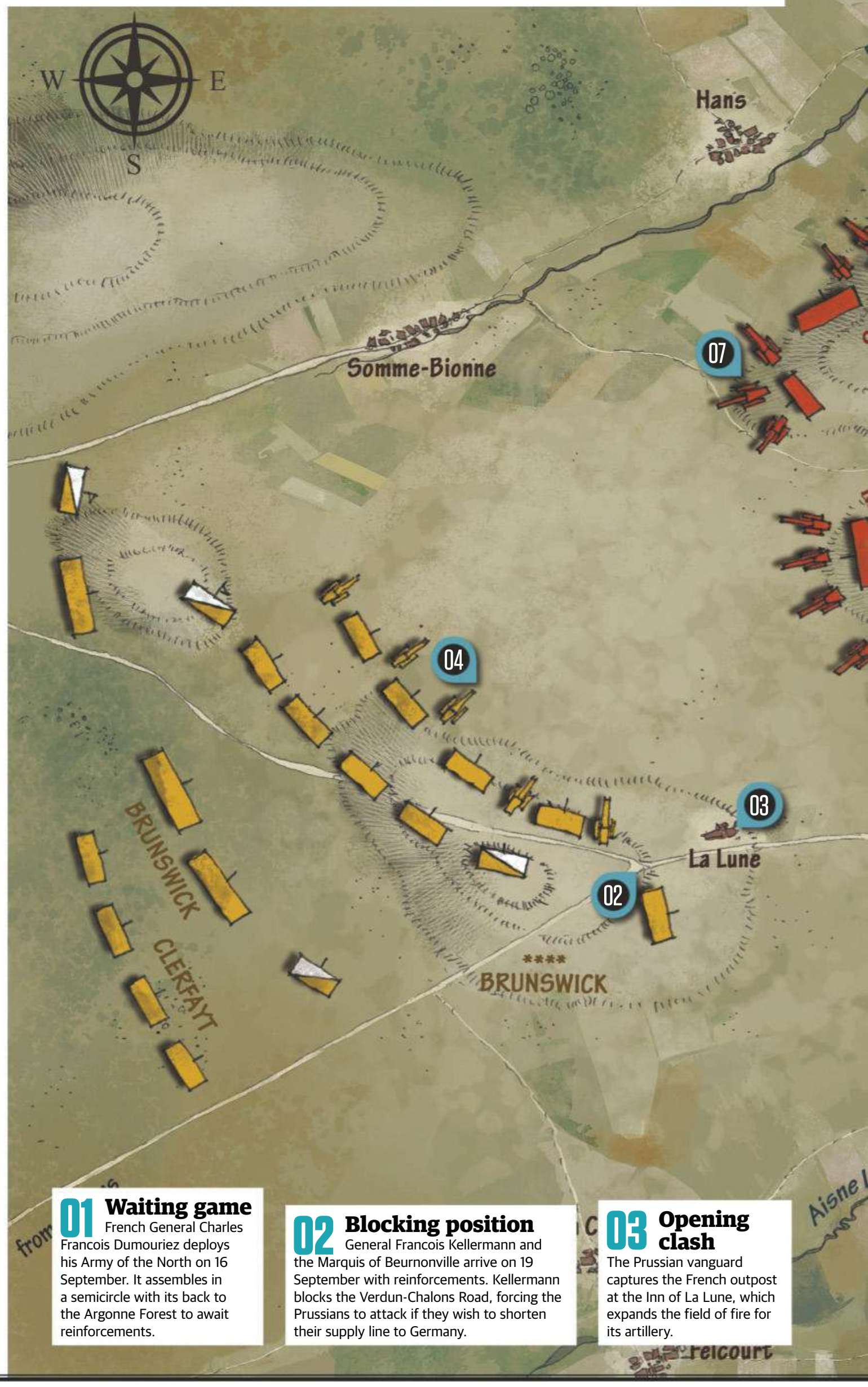
When the Prussians began their advance, Dumouriez rode to the front to consult with Kellermann. He believed that Brunswick would break off the attack rather than have his infantry decimated by walking into the teeth of the French guns. The Prussian guns scored a clear success when one of their shells detonated a French ammunition cart. The explosions, which rocked the windmill hill, produced large clouds of smoke that temporarily obscured targets in the French centre for the Prussian gunners. When two volunteer battalions broke for cover, Kellermann rode quickly to rally them before the panic spread to other battalions. In the meantime, Dumouriez issued orders for more guns and replacement ammunition to be brought forward to restock the shells that had been lost.

Christian Karl August Ludwig von Massenbach, who was the military engineer on Brunswick's staff, had been observing the progress of the battle from La Lune. He wrongly assumed that the French morale had been broken by the explosions and rode to Brunswick to urge him to send the infantry forward again. At that moment, the smoke from the detonations dissipated, and the French artillery resumed its heavy fire. Having failed to break the French centre, Brunswick ordered the Prussian artillery to try to drive Stengel from Mount Yron instead. But Stengel's troops also held up under the concentrated artillery fire.

Brunswick ordered the infantry to advance again at mid-afternoon, but the result was the same. At 4pm, Brunswick called his staff together and, with the king listening, plucked up the courage to say emphatically that the Prussians would not launch a potentially costly frontal assault. The king did not object. Brunswick's last order of the day was for the Prussians on the right to extend their line in order to cut the Chalons Road so that the French could not withdraw east.

Inclement weather and additional losses in the ranks due to camp sickness compelled Brunswick to order a general retreat on 30 September. Casualties on both sides were light because the bulk of the infantry had never been committed and the artillery fire had been less destructive than normal given the wet conditions. The French forces suffered approximately 300 casualties and the Prussians around 200.

The 'Cannonade at Valmy' was momentous for the French. The day after the battle, a more radical assembly of legislators known as the National Convention met in Paris. The legislative body abolished the monarchy and replaced it with a republic. On the sodden field of Valmy, the untried Revolutionary Army had withstood a test of arms against a more experienced foe. It is no understatement to say that the French victory at Valmy saved the revolution.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La Lune
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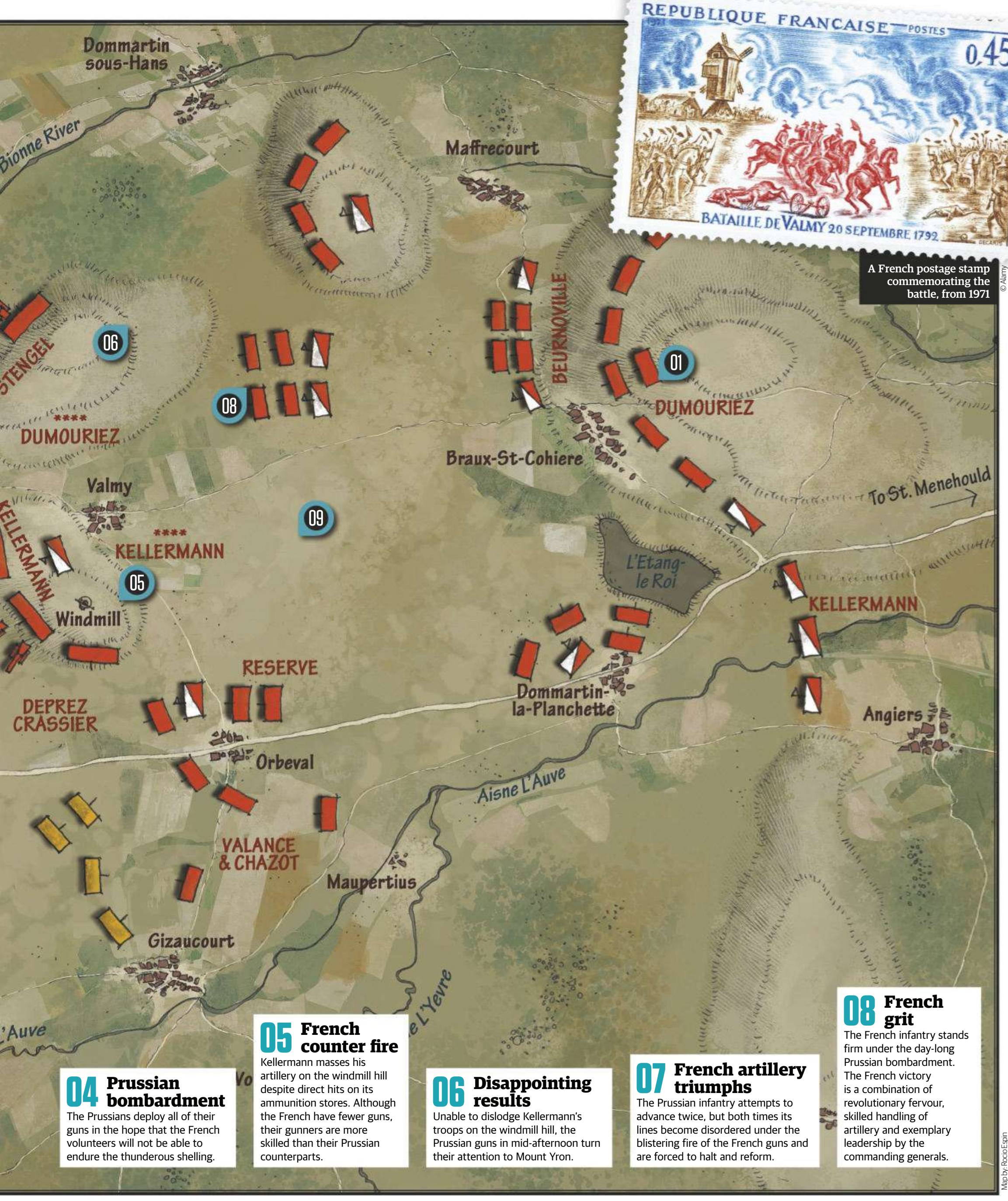
BRUNSWICK
CLERFAYT
BRUNSWICK
01 Waiting game
French General Charles Francois Dumouriez deploys his Army of the North on 16 September. It assembles in a semicircle with its back to the Argonne Forest to await reinforcements.
02 Blocking position
General Francois Kellermann and the Marquis of Beurnonville arrive on 19 September with reinforcements. Kellermann blocks the Verdun-Chalons Road, forcing the Prussians to attack if they wish to shorten their supply line to Germany.
03 Opening clash
The Prussian vanguard captures the French outpost at the Inn of La Lune, which expands the field of fire for its artillery.

Battle of Valmy



A French postage stamp commemorating the battle, from 1971

© Alamy

04 Prussian bombardment
The Prussians deploy all of their guns in the hope that the French volunteers will not be able to endure the thunderous shelling.

05 French counter fire
Kellermann masses his artillery on the windmill hill despite direct hits on its ammunition stores. Although the French have fewer guns, their gunners are more skilled than their Prussian counterparts.

06 Disappointing results
Unable to dislodge Kellermann's troops on the windmill hill, the Prussian guns in mid-afternoon turn their attention to Mount Yron.

07 French artillery triumphs
The Prussian infantry attempts to advance twice, but both times its lines become disordered under the blistering fire of the French guns and are forced to halt and reform.

08 French grit
The French infantry stands firm under the day-long Prussian bombardment. The French victory is a combination of revolutionary fervour, skilled handling of artillery and exemplary leadership by the commanding generals.

Map by: Rocio Espin

What If...

LENIN HAD BEEN ASSASSINATED?

In 1918, an attempt was made on the life of Bolshevik leader Vladimir Lenin. Who was behind it and what if it had succeeded?

Written by Callum McKelvie

INTERVIEW WITH

© Jason Ackerman

BARNES CARR

A former reporter and editor, Barnes Carr is the author of *Operation Whisper: The Capture Of Soviet Spies Morris And Lona Cohen* and *The Lenin Plot*. An award-winning author, he previously worked as an executive producer for WRNO Worldwide, a shortwave radio station that provided new Orleans Jazz and R&B to the Soviet Union in the last years of the USSR.

What was the Lenin Plot?

The Lenin Plot was a secret operation led by the United States to stage a coup d'état in Moscow, assassinate Soviet dictator Vladimir Lenin and his cabinet, then install an Allied-friendly 'dictatorship' in the Kremlin to get Russia back in the World War. They worked closely with British, French and Latvian agents, the Czech army, a Socialist Revolutionary force and other 'loyalist' Russians faithful to the Allied cause. Western forces invaded European Russia in an attempt to defeat the Red Army and support the coup.

President Woodrow Wilson and Secretary of State Robert Lansing originated the plot in December 1917 after the Bolsheviks took power. Initially the plan was to hire a Cossack army to turn out Lenin. Lansing advised Wilson that this was probably illegal and that US funds should be sent to the British and French as war aid so they could launder the money for the plot. "This has my entire approval," Wilson told Lansing.

Why was Wilson and the US so keen to depose Lenin?

After the Bolsheviks grabbed power in October 1917, Lenin announced he was taking the country out of the war. This was a secret deal he had cut with Germany after the war began. Berlin supplied the Bolsheviks with millions of marks, laundered in Stockholm, to help Lenin take control of Russia and shut down the three Russian fronts. This allowed Germany to move divisions over to the Western Front, the main battleground. The payments are listed in records of the German Foreign Ministry, at the National Archives in Washington DC.

Second, the humanitarian factor. The Russian Provisional that took power after the revolution of February 1917 declared an amnesty for all political prisoners and exiles. The paranoid Lenin was having none of that. He called himself Batyushka, the nickname of Tsar Nicholas II, and gave his secret police, the Cheka, a virtual 'licence to kill' his opponents, real or imagined.

The Western powers felt that Comrade Chairman had stopped the legitimate revolution, which was supported by the Allies, and replaced it with a bloody, illegal regime that was taking Russia back to old tsarist days of mass arrests, terror, torture and murder. Historians in Russia that I talked with do not use the term Bolshevik 'revolution' – they call it a coup, or simply a seizure of power.

Third, the democracy component. The provisional government had scheduled a constituent assembly to decide what kind of government Russia would have in the future. In the election of delegates, the Socialist Revolutionaries, Russia's

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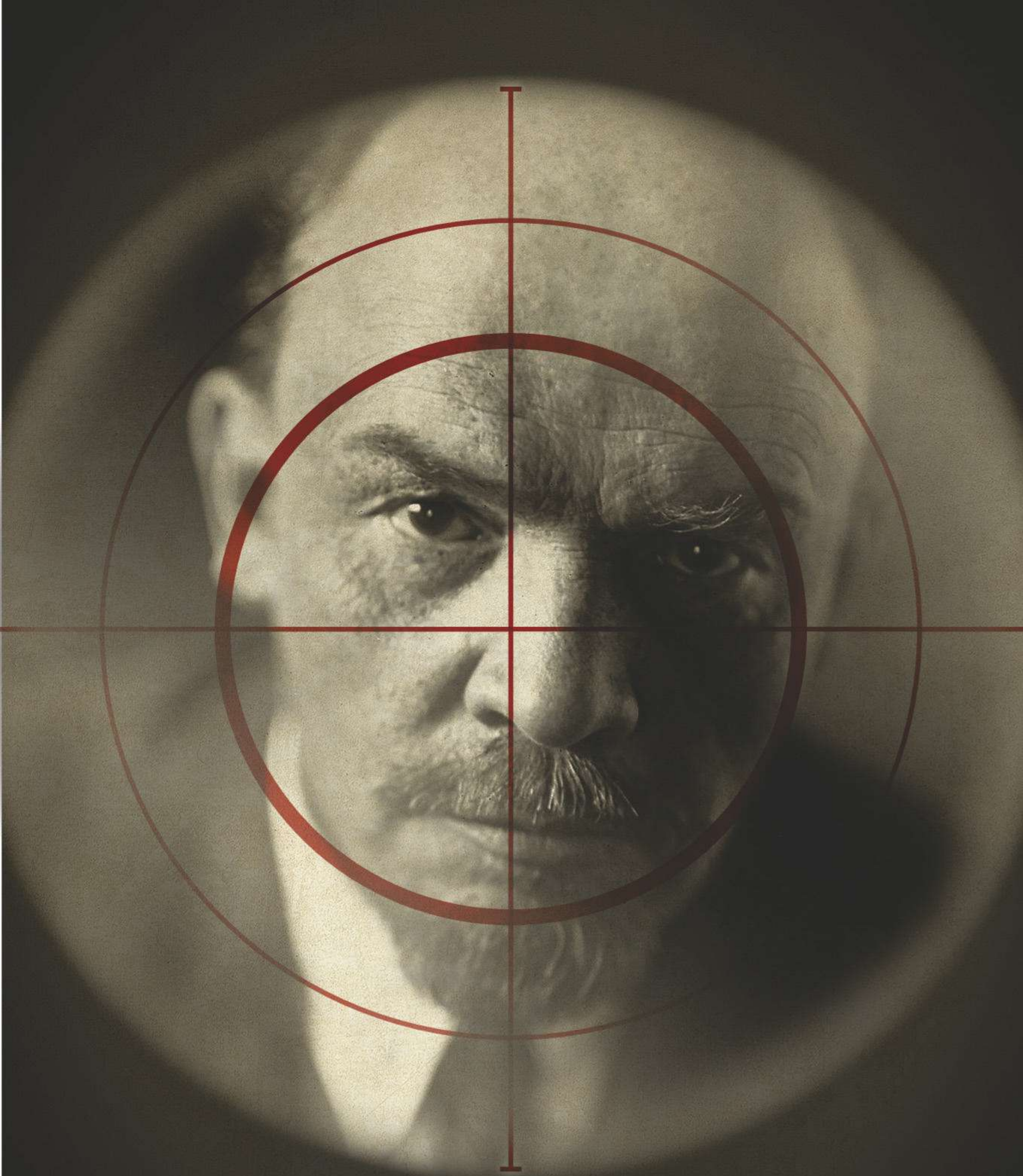
Main image source: wiki/ Pavel Semyonovich Zhukov

RIGHT
The Bolshevik revolution in 1917



THE PAST

1848

MARXISM IN RUSSIA

Karl Marx's *The Communist Manifesto* was published in 1848 to little immediate fanfare. While Marx himself was in Paris on the invitation of the provincial government following the outbreak of the revolution in 1848, and sporadic revolutions occurred throughout Europe during the same year, the mass communist rising that Marx had predicted never occurred. However, the document itself endured and continues to be the main manifesto for communist parties throughout the world nearly 200 years later. However, it would be Vladimir Lenin who would transpose the document into a government system for a turn-of-the-century Russia.

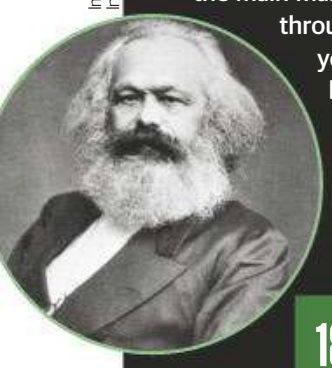


Image source: wik/ International Institute of Social History

1870 – 1924

WHO WAS LENIN?

The head of the Bolshevik party, Vladimir Lenin (born Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov) became a Marxist after being expelled from college and immersing himself in political writings. He had first become radicalised following the execution of his brother at the hands of the state for plotting to assassinate Tsar Alexander III. Exiled to Siberia, Ilyich Ulyanov adopted the name Lenin and founded the Bolshevik Party. Returning to Russia in 1917 among strikes over food shortages and the abdication of Tsar Nicholas II, the revolution was already in full swing.

© Alamy

1856 – 1924

WHO WAS WOODROW WILSON?

The 28th president of the United States, Woodrow Wilson was president between 1913 and 1921. During his time he introduced numerous pieces of legislation, banning child labour, limiting railroad workers to an eight-hour day and banning unfair business practices, among a host of other laws. He had originally attempted to keep America out of World War I but in 1917 felt he could do so no longer.

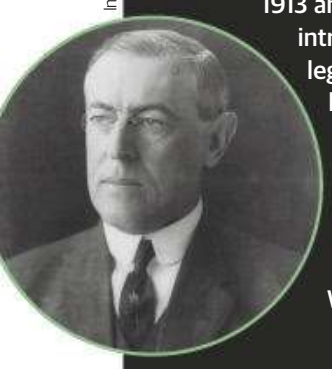


Image source: wik/ Library of Congress

largest party, won 17,134,161 votes; the Bolsheviks got 9,844,637. The Socialist Revolutionaries were awarded 370 seats, the Bolsheviks 175. Lenin invaded the chambers with armed sailors and dismissed the assembly.

There were economic considerations too. Russia had the second-largest population in the world. After the war it would be a booming market for American goods like cars, tractors, refrigerators, tobacco, jeans, tennis shoes and jazz records. Other countries had the same idea. American business interests wanted to move fast and get in on the ground floor.

What happened during the assassination attempt on Lenin and how involved was the US?

Two of the Lenin plotters in Moscow, Sidney Reilly, a Russian recruit to the British Secret Service, and Boris Savinkov, an SR terrorist hired by the Allies (both of them drug addicts) planned to kill Lenin and his cabinet during the All-Russian Congress of Soviets in August 1918. A Cheka mole inside the Lenin Plot later indicated that the Americans and French were in on the scheme. Indeed, Yakov Peters, the number-two man in the Cheka, said the Americans were the "most compromised" in the plot.

A hardened Socialist Revolutionary terrorist, Fanny Kaplan, shot Lenin three times, in the neck and chest, after he made a speech at a Moscow factory. Lenin survived, but the attack amplified the Red Terror. Thousands of Russians were rounded up and executed by the Cheka in retaliation for the attempt on Lenin. When the Allied agent Savinkov later wrote his memoirs he told his translator that he was the one who gave Kaplan her pistol.

What happened when the Americans sent an expeditionary force to Russia in 1918?

There were three Allied invasions of European Russia – first at Murmansk, then twice at Archangel. The second Archangel invasion, in September 1918, was the largest and its biggest contingent was the American army. US officers in the field called it an 'American show'. Russians called it the 'American invasion' and the 'Wilson invasion'. An American. newspaper referred to it as 'Wilson's war'. (There was a parallel Allied invasion in Siberia, but it had nothing to do with the Lenin Plot.)

The American ambassador David Francis, along with consul general DeWitt Poole, who was control officer for American agents in Russia, wanted the invasion force to support the Lenin Plot. But they got bogged down fighting a north Russian winter war and could not advance on Moscow or Petrograd. They were finally defeated by the Red Army and driven out of Russia. Nearly 600 American troops were dead or missing in action. American

LEFT
Painting celebrating the Bolshevik revolution, showing a giant Lenin leading the masses

ABOVE
A late-1960s Soviet propaganda poster using the image of Lenin

3x © Alamy

ABOVE
Painting of Lenin following the assassination attempt

Lieutenant John Cudahy called the war "an unprovoked, intensive, inglorious little armed conflict which had ended in disaster and disgrace".

What were some of the repercussions of the US interference?
If the term Cold War can be defined as an attempt to defeat another country militarily, politically, economically, or culturally without a formal declaration of war, then the Lenin Plot was the true beginning of it. The Lenin Plot was a colossal embarrassment for the US and the Allies. Russia had been a former ally in the war. Russia had not invaded any Western nations or plotted to assassinate their leaders.

Washington tried to cover it up. Veterans of the invasion could not even get copies of their service records. Wilson publicly denied any "intervention" or "interference" in Russia's "sovereignty". In congressional testimony, Poole denied "completely and entirely" the reports that his main field agent, Xenophon Kalamatiano, a University of Chicago graduate, was a spy. "I want to deny any implication of activity against the Soviet republic," Poole said.

The cover-up continued for decades. In 1933 President Roosevelt claimed that a "happy tradition of friendship" had existed between America and Russia "for more that a century". President Reagan in 1984 said in a TV address to the USSR that "our sons and daughters have never fought each other in war".

But Russia never forgot. Kremlin bosses used the Lenin Plot as a casus belli for stealing Western military secrets such as radar, the proximity fuse, and the atomic bomb, and for fighting surrogate hot wars against the West. What President Kennedy called "the long twilight struggle" didn't end with the fall of Soviet Communism in 1991, despite President Obama's claim in 2012 that the Cold War had been "over for 20 years".

In *Operation Whisper*, my first Cold War history, I quoted Sergei Tretyakov, a KGB defector, as saying: "Nothing has changed. The SVR [Russian foreign intelligence] rezidenturas [bases for resident spies] in the US are not less active but in some respects even more active." That is, through satellite surveillance, computer hacking, wire taps, fake news, phony intelligence and, as always, agents on the ground stealing secrets.

Had the assassination attempt on Lenin and the US plot to invade Russia succeeded, what could some of the immediate effects have been?
Millions of troops would have been required to occupy Russia and prop up the Allies' dictator in the Kremlin. It's doubtful the US Congress or the British and French parliaments would have approved that. The Allied dictator would have to raise his own army. But how long could he last? Trotsky had a million men under his command in 1918. Russia would simply continue fighting her existing civil war.

Moving through the 20th century, how might the world have been different because of this?
A Russian friend of mine recently went home to St Petersburg for a visit and was appalled to read in a media poll that Stalin enjoyed continued approval in the country. Russians have always been tolerant of autocrats. And any Russian dictator installed by the Allies would eventually flex his muscles and evict the Western operatives, then resume the Cold War that had started in 1917.

Russians, like Americans, feel that they are a special people. The same old ambitions, animosities, jealousies and enemies' lists would be in place. Only the names in the headlines would change.

> **"The Lenin Plot was a colossal embarrassment for the US and the Allies"**

THE POSSIBILITY

1918-22

THE RED TERROR

Following the assassination attempt on Lenin in 1918, a state-sponsored wave of executions and brutality began, lasting into 1922. Tens of thousands of individuals were rounded up and placed in prison camps or executed. Organised by the Bolshevik's secret police organisation, the Cheka, all suspected 'Whites' (the enemies of the Bolsheviks, or 'Reds') were hunted down. The period was seen by those involved as the final extermination of the bourgeoisie who had escaped the initial revolution. With so much of its history shrouded in secrecy, it is impossible to ever know the full extent of the chaos. Had an assassination attempt on Lenin not been made, it's possible that the purge would not have been so violent.

© Alamy

1879 – 1940

TROTSKY

Had the US successfully assassinated Lenin and placed a leader of their liking in his place, it is likely that the civil war would have continued with the Bolshevik army under the command of Leon Trotsky. The man who transformed the Red Army, Trotsky would later be assassinated by a Soviet agent with a pickaxe. Previously working closely with Lenin during the revolution, he fell foul of Joseph Stalin after he lost a power struggle to the would-be dictator. Becoming increasingly critical of his rivals' methods, he was forced to flee and was finally offered asylum in Mexico in 1938, where he would be killed two years later. Had Lenin been assassinated, it is unsure what Trotsky's role would have been.

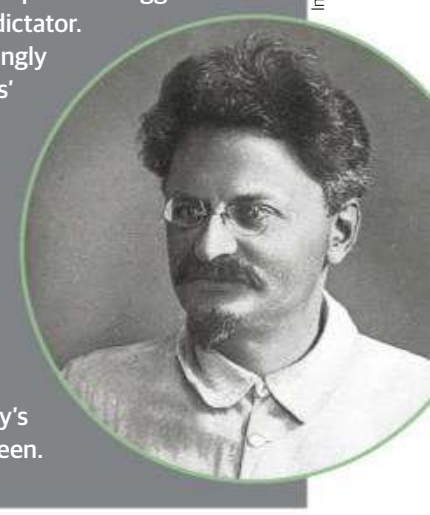


Image source: wiki/Marxists.org

Through History

PAINTING THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

A new book from Oxford University Press examines how artists depicted an era of seismic technological change

Between 1750 and 1830, Britain underwent an unprecedented period of change that saw it move from an agricultural society to the modern industrial country we know today. This Industrial Revolution saw the British economy transformed by new materials such as iron and steel, the growing use of fossil fuels, the introduction of factories and cutting-edge machinery, and a mass migration from the countryside to the cities.

Somewhat surprisingly, while this period was discussed heavily in literature (notably the works of Charles Dickens) and featured in sketches, few paintings remain. A new book from Oxford University Press, *Art and Industry* by David Stacey, details the work of seven artists of the era and places them in the context of their time. The artists featured are: Joseph Wright of Derby (1734–97), John Opie (1761–1807), Philippe-Jacques de Loutherbourg (1740–1812), Penry Williams (1802–85), William Havell (1782–1857), Joseph Mallord William Turner (1775–1851) and Henry Hawkins (1800–81).

In his book Stacey argues that these artists portray, in their own individual ways, the various problems and conditions that arose during the Industrial Revolution. Thematically they show a coherent approach to changing technologies, industries and social classes within 18th and 19th century Britain.

Main image: © Board of Trustees of the Science Museum

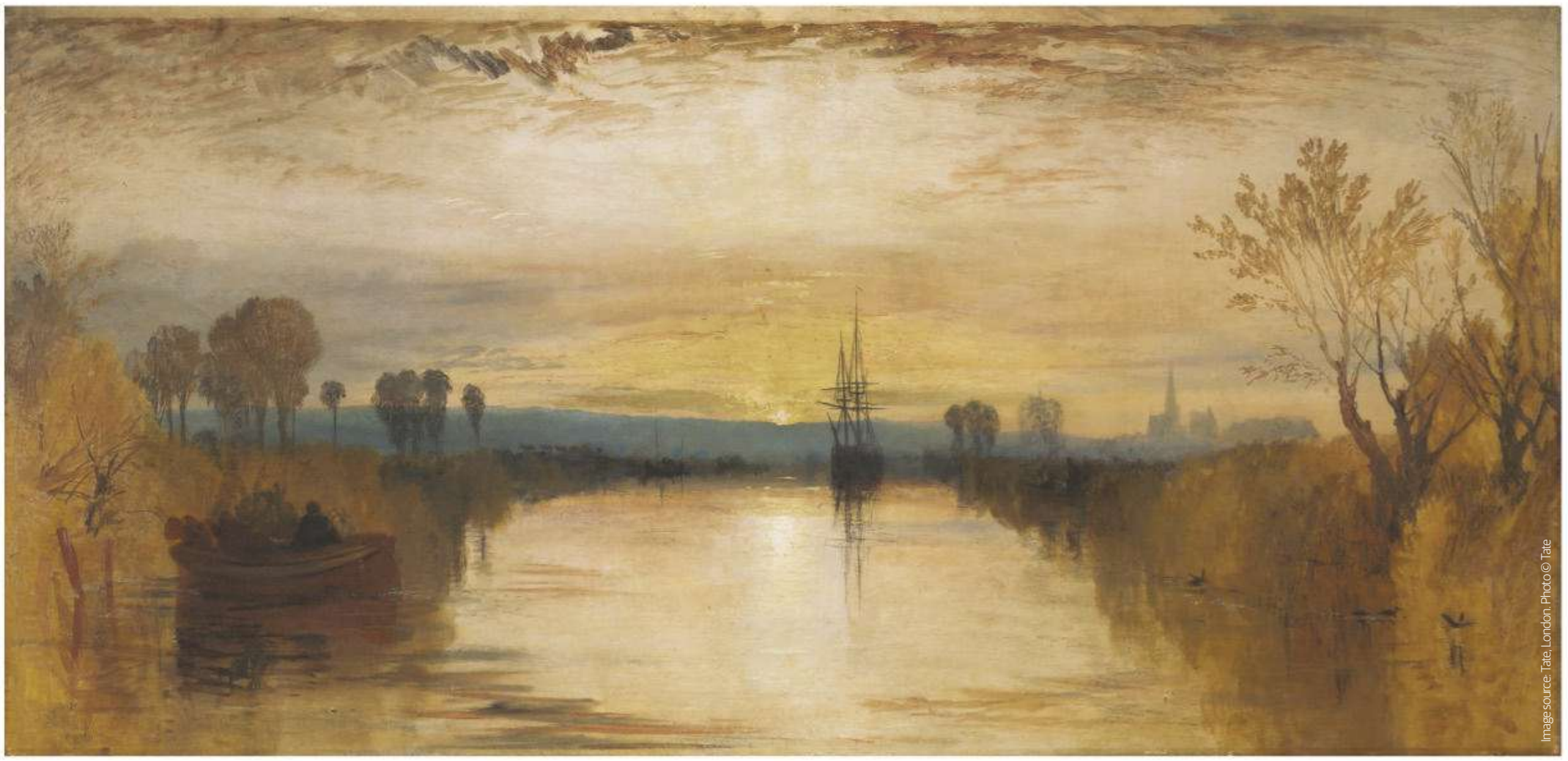


Image source: Tate, London. Photo © Tate

Image source: Derby Museum and Art Gallery. On loan to Derby Museums from a private collection, UK

SIR RICHARD ARKWRIGHT 1732-92

This painting of entrepreneur Richard Arkwright by Joseph Wright of Derby shows him seated next to a model of his patented spinning frame. The first water-powered spinning frame, its invention ensured Arkwright would be remembered as one of the founders of the factory age.

CHICHESTER CANAL

Joseph Mallord William Turner remains a beloved painter of the Romantic period, nicknamed 'the painter of light' due to his distinctive use of colours. Shown here is a painting of Chichester Canal, one of a series from the 1790s-1830s in which Turner portrayed Britain's emerging canal infrastructure.

ARKWRIGHT COTTON MILLS BY NIGHT

A night vista of Richard Arkwright's cotton mill complex in Cromford, Derbyshire. By 1780 it employed over 600 men, women and children. So successful was Arkwright's spinning mill design, he was able to sell them as far afield as America.

Image source: Photograph © 2020 Philip Mould & Co. / Bridgeman Images

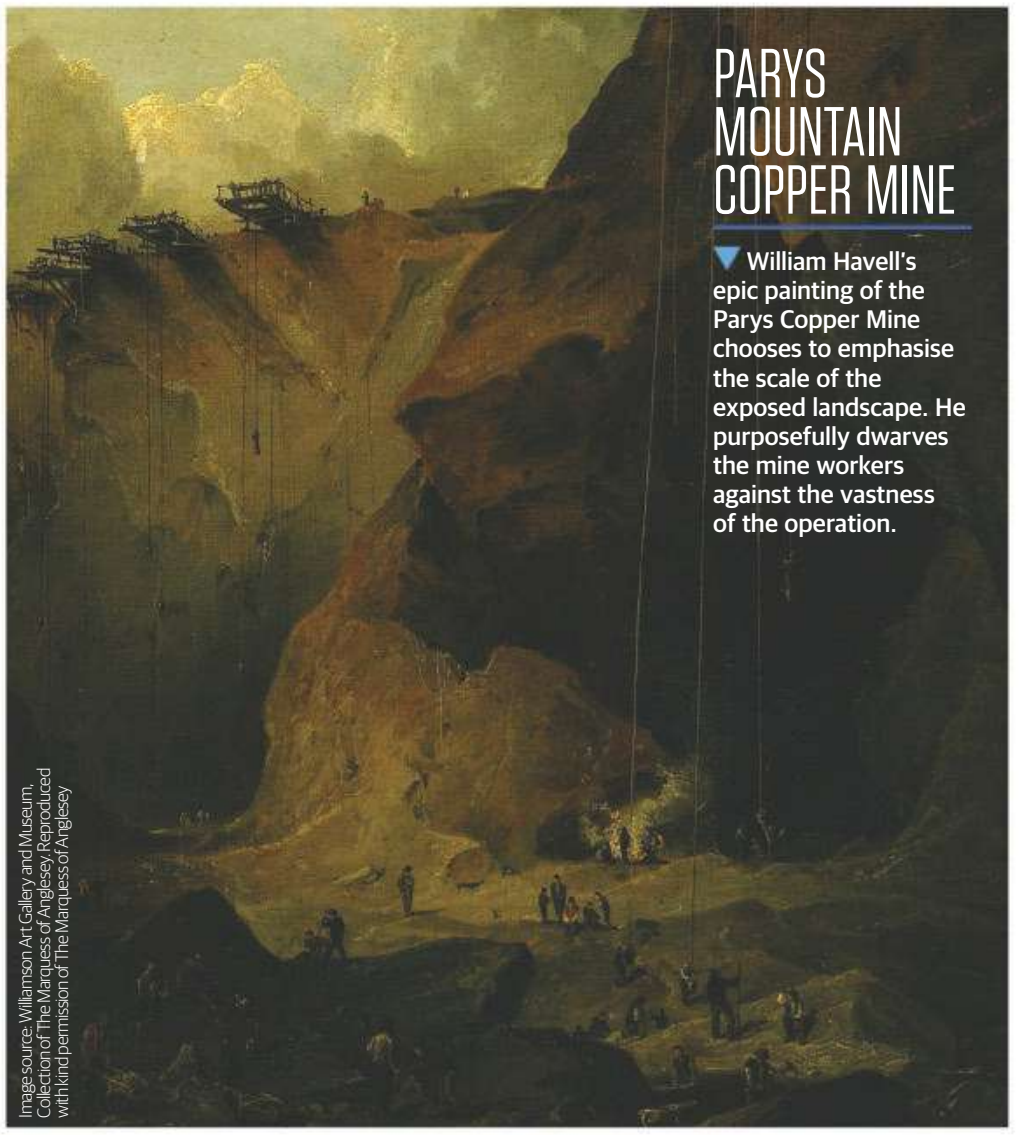


Image source: Williamson Art Gallery and Museum, Collection of The Marquess of Anglesey. Reproduced with kind permission of The Marquess of Anglesey

PARYS MOUNTAIN COPPER MINE

▼ William Havell's epic painting of the Parys Copper Mine chooses to emphasise the scale of the exposed landscape. He purposefully dwarves the mine workers against the vastness of the operation.

Image source: The Royal Institution of Cornwall, Royal Cornwall Museum, Truro

A GENTLEMAN AND A MINER

▲ Joseph Opie's painting *A Gentleman and a Miner* is a highly unusual and politicised painting for the time. Stacey argues the placement of the figures, both literally and metaphorically, gives the miner the upper hand, drawing attention to some of the inequalities in mining at the time.

PENRHYN SLATE QUARRY

▼ A particularly striking image, Henry Hawkins' vista of Penrhyn Slate Quarry was commissioned by the owner. Little of Hawkins' work is well-known yet, like Havell, he also uses the image of an open mine or quarry to dwarf the figures working within it.

Image source: © National Trust Images / John Hammond

Image source: © Cyfarthfa Castle Museum and Art Gallery, Merthyr Tydfil

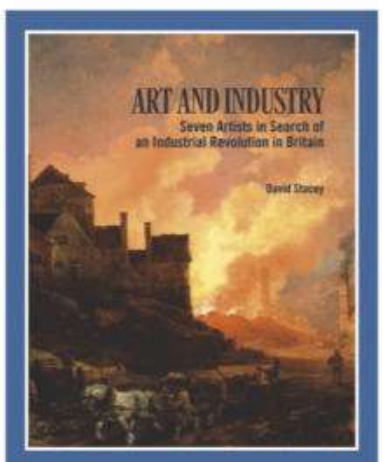
CYFARTHFA IRON WORKS BY NIGHT

Artist Penry Williams was commissioned by his patron, William Crawshay II, to illustrate the interior of his iron works at Cyfarthfa. The painting focuses on the scale of the operations and also on the factory running at night – both new things at the time.

AN IRON FORGE AT MERTHYR TYDFIL

By the 1850s Merthyr Tydfil had expanded from a small village to one of the largest towns in Wales, renowned for its ironworks. At the time, the town was responsible for 40% of Britain's iron exports and pioneered new methods that significantly increased production rates.

Image source: Cyfarthfa Castle Museum and Art Gallery, Merthyr Tydfil



Art and Industry: Seven Artists in Search of an Industrial Revolution in Britain

by David Stacey is published by Unicorn (£25)

REVIEWS

The books, TV shows and films causing a stir in the history world this month

Image source: Netflix

THE DIG

A beautifully shot if sometimes meandering retelling of the Sutton Hoo discovery

Certificate: 12 **Director:** Simon Stone **Cast:** Carey Mulligan, Ralph Fiennes, Lily James **Released:** Out now

Based on the book of the same name, *The Dig* is a retelling of the events around the discovery of the Sutton Hoo archaeological site, one of the most extraordinary finds in Europe. With excavation beginning in 1939, what started as a buried ship revealed itself to be a richly adorned burial chamber with some of the most incredible Anglo-Saxon treasures found to this day.

Widowed estate owner Edith Pretty (Mulligan) hires the much sought-after and self-taught archaeologist (or 'digger' as he prefers to be called) Basil Brown (Feinnes) to excavate some burial mounds on her land in Suffolk. What Brown finds sends ripples through the archaeological community, starting a mild-mannered war between the academics who want control of the site and its treasures and Pretty who wants oversight and Brown to remain in charge.

While there's a great deal more happening in this story, as we'll explore, this is the main thrust of the film and some of its most interesting work. The class dynamics of the upper class Pretty and her working class employee Brown make for interesting contrast, accentuated by the arrival of much more snobbish academics on the site. The inter-class solidarity between the rich but condescended widow and the poor, humble but brilliant digger forms the backbone of the experience and the film is often weaker when it leaves them to explore other characters.

As the date of this site's discovery should allude, war is looming on the horizon and the entire story exists under the cloud and ticking clock of impending conflict. Death and legacy are two intertwining concepts throughout *The Dig*, with the legacy of a past civilisation and fragility of the current civilisation being contemplated as the nation inches towards war. The idea that we must seize life, love and friendship while we can certainly carries a lot of weight.

The story that attempts to drive this message home revolves around Peggy Piggott (James), who went on to become an acclaimed archaeologist best-known today by her later married name Margaret Guido. With her new marriage seemingly already fraying, she is drawn to Pretty's nephew Rory Lomax (Johnny Flynn), who is about to join the RAF. While Peggy is the third main character of the original book, this subplot feels like the weakest element of the overall story despite fine performances by those involved.

In terms of craft and performance, *The Dig* can't really be knocked. All of the leads bring a subtle depth to their respective characters, drawing us into their struggles and concerns. The pace of the film overall is considered and there's a refreshing tactility and grounded feel to the period setting. While every scene is packed full of detail, it doesn't feel too caught up in such things, preferring instead to linger on the land and scenery around Sutton Hoo. What you're left with is a small taste of what it must have been like to both live on the edge of impending doom and be involved in a history-redefining discovery. ***JG***

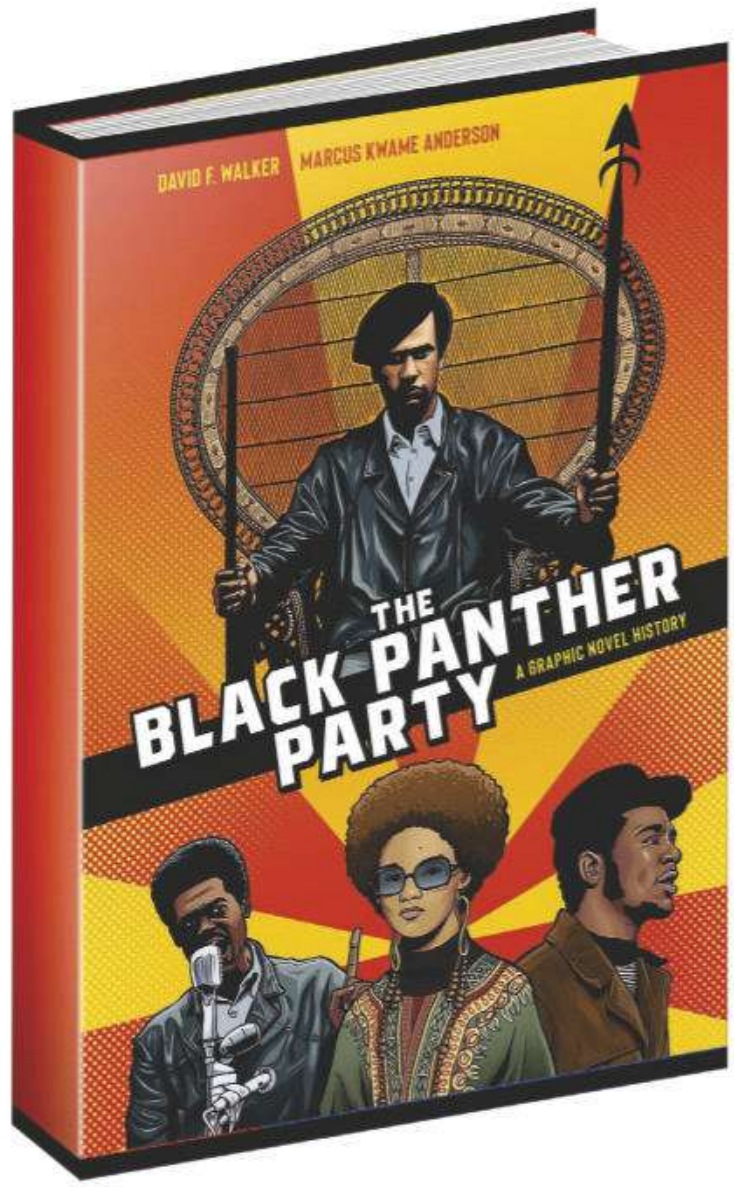
★★★★☆

Reviews by
Jonathan Gordon, Catherine Curzon, Callum McKelvie

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

The history of the Black Panther Party, comic-style

Author David F Walker **Illustrator** Marcus Kwame Anderson
Publisher Berkley Publishing Corporation **Price** £15.99 **Released** Out now



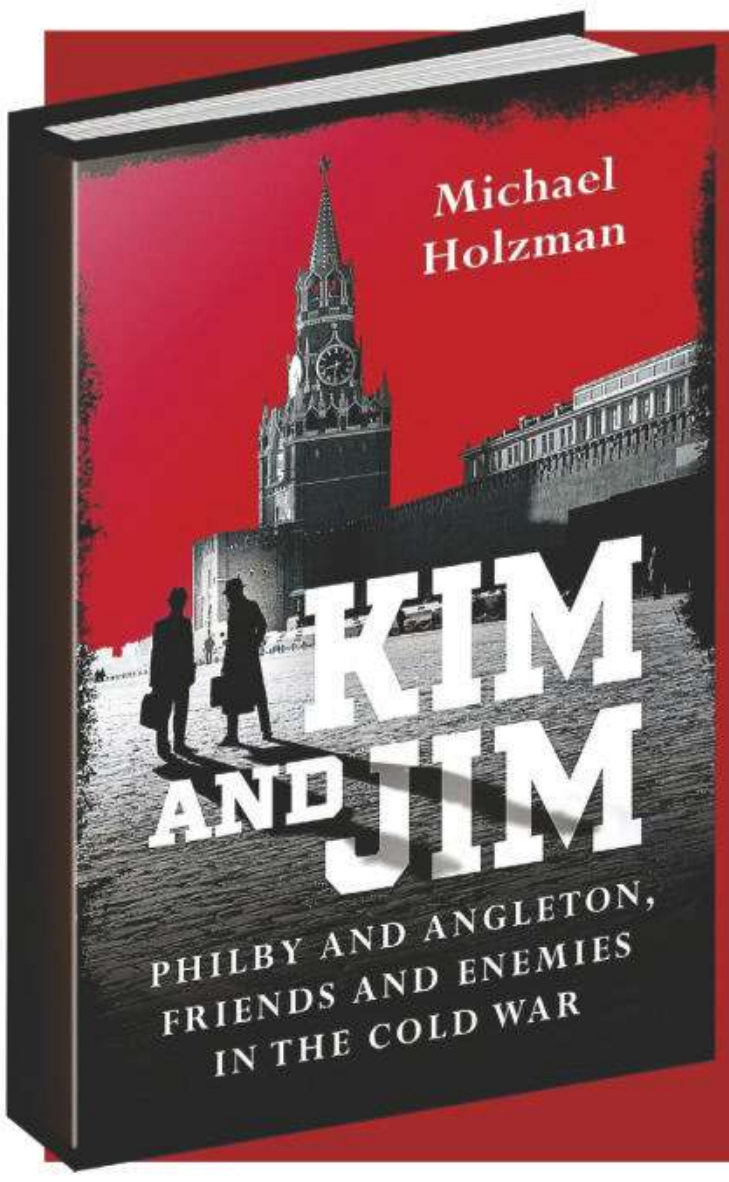
If the thought of a historical graphic novel sounds off-putting, *The Black Panther Party: A Graphic Novel History* may challenge such preconceptions.

The narrative begins long before the founding of the Black Panther Party and goes on to detail the entire history of the movement, including sketched biographies of key players. There are recreations of some very famous events, and some that may not be quite so familiar.

Marcus Kwame Anderson's illustrations bring a vitality to David F Walker's evocative text, and together the two men have created a work that is nothing short of breathtaking. At times challenging and always deeply involving, the book doesn't shy away from the complexities and challenges of the movement, and Walker's expert handling of what is by necessity a limited amount of text provides a lean, confident lesson in history. His prose is perfectly matched by Anderson's striking illustrations, which lend an almost cinematic air to some of the set-pieces.

The Black Panther Party: A Graphic Novel History is unlike any other history book you will find. It's timely, challenging and enormously relevant to modern readers. It will provide an excellent introduction for those unfamiliar with the topic and will no doubt find fans amongst readers who are already well-versed in the Black Panther movement. For readers who would like to dig deeper, there is an extensive bibliography, but there can be few better places to start than this. ***CC***

★★★★★



KIM AND JIM

An in-depth examination of the friendship and relationship of two key players in Cold War espionage

Author Michael Holzman **Publisher** Orion Books **Price** £20 **Released** Out now

Admittedly, when yet another book covering the life of Kim Philby slides across our desk, we can't help but roll our eyes. The shadow of Philby is large and his story fascinating – yet the literature on the subject is beyond vast. However, we're pleased to say that Michael Holzman's new book demonstrates it's still possible to take an original approach to the story of Philby and his betrayal.

This approach is to narrate how Philby was the mentor to the CIA's James Angleton before showing how that friendship turned sour, giving the story a more personal angle. Holzman chooses to cover both men's lives in depth, discussing briefly their adolescence, careers as young men, espionage work and the effect of Philby's betrayal. For the most part this is done in separate chapters, the narratives crossing over when the men's lives did. This allows Holzman to compare and contrast Philby and Angleton, speculating as to why they chose the paths they did.

However, while this approach is interesting and key to how Holzman tells the story it can at times prove wandering, with perhaps one too many tangents. Additionally, in regards to the Philby portions of the book there is not much this reader had not heard before.

On the whole Holzman manages to bring a refreshing take on an old subject. While not always providing new information, by taking a much more personal approach to the two he is able to examine a familiar story from a different perspective. ***CM***

★★★★★

Out now!

Cuban Revolution

Revolt and rebellion run in Cuba's blood thanks to the Caribbean island's history of conflict, foreign rule and political upheaval. This special explores the fascinating story of the revolution that shook the world, from its origins and early days to key events and iconic personalities from the conflict. It's an essential read for anyone with an interest in revolutionary and Cold War history.

Buy *Cuban Revolution* in shops or online at
magazinesdirect.com
Price: £15.99

HISTORY of WAR **RECOMMENDS...**

Out now!

Beating The Nazi Invader

Author Neil R Storey
Price £25 **Publisher** Pen & Sword

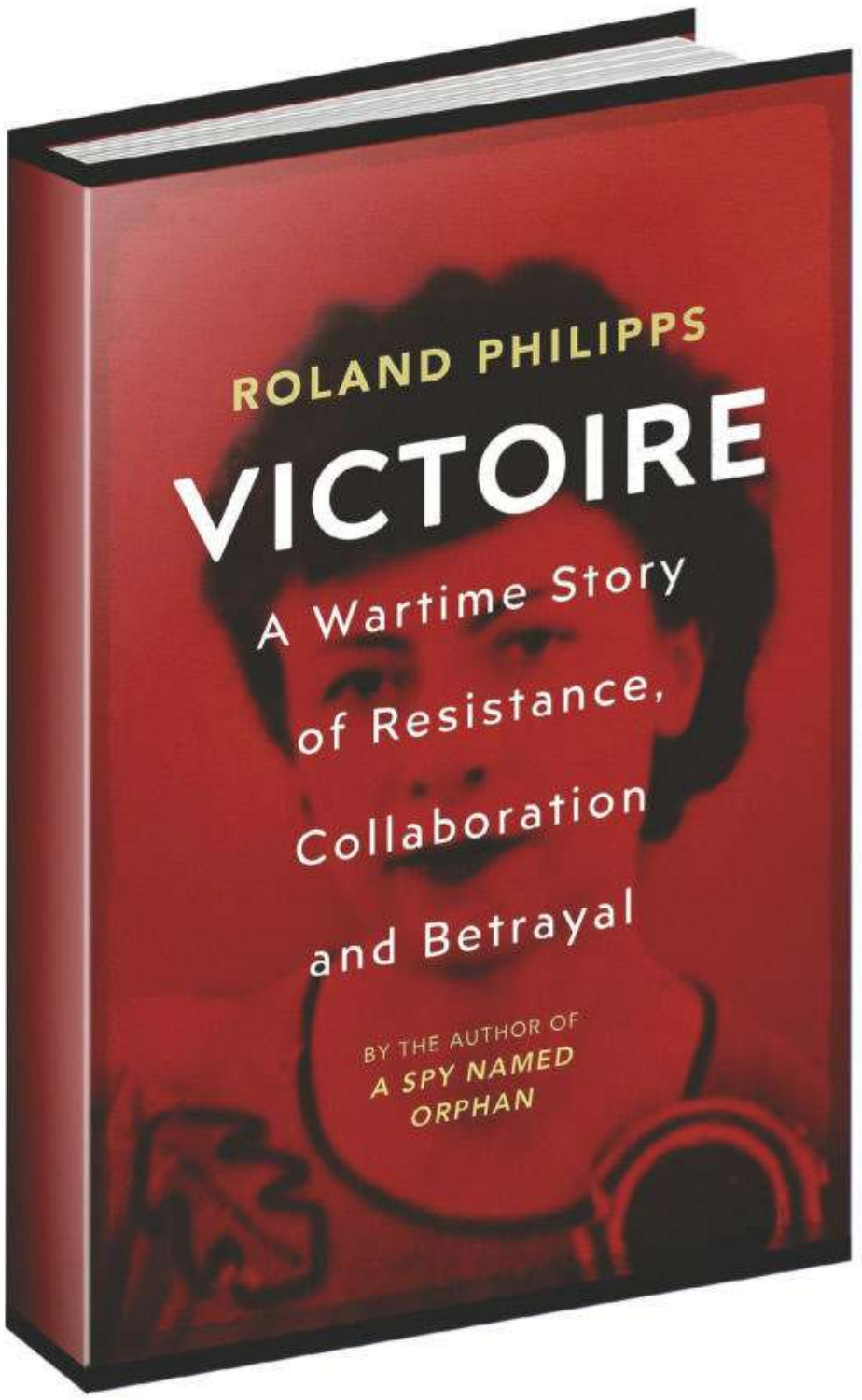
Accessing archives and a variety of other primary sources, Neil Storey provides the reader with an extensive insight into 'sleeping' Nazi sympathisers in Britain, German agents, the proposed London Gestapo HQ, and measures taken by MI5 to hunt enemies of the state. *Beating The Nazi Invader* is a truly engrossing work exploring German preparations for the proposed invasion and the measures put in place to counter it.

VICTOIRE:

A WARTIME STORY OF RESISTANCE, COLLABORATION AND BETRAYAL

How one woman betrayed both sides in WWII

Author Roland Philipps **Publisher** Bodley head **Price** £20 **Released** 25 March 2021



"Philipps paints an evocative picture of a world in turmoil"

Sometimes a story comes along that really is stranger than fiction, one that would test the patience of any reader sitting down to enjoy a spy novel or cinemagoer hoping to lose themselves in some make-believe espionage. *Victoire: A Wartime Story Of Resistance, Collaboration And Betrayal* is one of those stories and yet, despite its twists and turns, this tale of plot and counter-plot, of double agents and dodging the death penalty, is true. It is all the more remarkable for it.

In 1940 Mathilde Carré, codenamed the Cat, worked with an associate to create a sprawling network of Allied intelligence agents in occupied France – the first of its kind. Despite the enormous risks the network's agents faced, they alone were able to provide on-the-ground information to London. Yet it was an endeavour fraught with unimaginable danger, and even the slightest suspicion of involvement carried with it the risk of torture and death at the hands of German occupying forces.

When those forces discovered Carré's role in the network, she agreed to serve as a double agent known as Agent Victoire. When her duplicity was discovered by the SOE she turned double agent once more, giving up her Nazi paymasters. Carré's last change of allegiances saw her spirited away to London, where she languished in a prison cell before she was deported back to France at the end of the war to face the death penalty. Once again though, the Cat proved that she was too cunning to be so easily silenced.

If all of this sounds like the plot of a novel, it barely scratches the surface of Carré's remarkable life. She was an enigma to those who knew her and who were never sure if she could be trusted. The seeming ease with which she flip-flopped back and forth between allegiances made her a woman who had to be handled with kid gloves. By turns immensely useful to both the Axis and Allies, she could be equally as damaging to both.

Yet for all this, in Roland Philipps' sensitive and authoritative biography, Carré makes for a surprisingly sympathetic if rather mercurial character. What emerges from her story is the fact that, above everything else, she was determined to survive, and Philipps handles her remarkable story with sensitivity, but not without unvarnished honesty. Drawing on a wide range of previously unexplored first-hand material, he paints an evocative picture of a world in turmoil, in which everyone was viewed with suspicion and no association, no matter how close, could be taken for granted.

Victoire: A Wartime Story of Resistance, Collaboration and Betrayal is a remarkable book, and Philipps handles its complexities with masterful aplomb. In a twisted web of espionage and plot and counter-plot, he is the perfect guide. This book will linger with readers long after they have finished it and will no doubt give them cause to think not only about the actions of Agent Victoire, but also how they might have fared had they faced the same impossible choices. ***CC***

★★★★★

HISTORY VS HOLLYWOOD

Fact versus fiction on the silver screen

ONE NIGHT IN MIAMI

Director: Regina King **Starring:** Kingsley Ben-Adir, Eli Goree, Aldis Hodge, Leslie Odom Jr **Country:** USA **Released:** 2021

A dramatised look at a historic meeting of American icons

VERDICT: The scenes are fictional, but the words and feelings are based in fact

01 The film depicts Muhammad Ali (then Cassius Clay), Sam Cooke, Jim Brown and Malcolm X on the evening following Ali's historic upset win over Sonny Liston in Miami, 25 February 1964. The movie is based on the real meeting of these four famous Americans.

02 What was said and done in the room at the Hampton House Motel, a Black owned and run hotel in the era of Jim Crow segregation, is unknown. The events are all fictionalised but based on some recorded facts. Brown has confirmed politics was a major topic.

03 Ali tells his friends he's joining the Nation Of Islam, something he'd officially announce a few days later (but the film shows it happening the next morning). It was taboo to ask athletes about religion, but Ali had spoken openly about his interest in Islam.

04 Malcolm challenges Cooke on not doing enough for Civil Rights, playing Bob Dylan's *Blowin' In The Wind* as an example. Cooke did reveal the impact that song had on him, covering it in 1964 before releasing his protest song *A Change Is Gonna Come*.

05 As suggested in the film, Malcolm was on the cusp of leaving the NOI and was being followed by the FBI. He explains in the film his plans to go to Mecca, which he did in April 1964. The attack on his home at the end of the film is also based in fact.

Main image: © Alamy
5x inset image source: © Amazon Prime

BUTTER TEA & TSAMPA

Did you know?

Butter tea, also known as po cha, is considered to be the national drink of Tibet

Ingredients

For the butter tea
- 950ml water
- 120ml milk
- 2 tbsp cow butter (or yak butter if you have it!)
- 1 tbsp of loose leaf black tea or 2 tea bags
- 2 tsp of salt

For the tsampa
- 300g pearl barley grains (or pearl barley flour for ease)
- Sifted sand or coarse sea salt (optional, for roasting)

Main image: © Alamy
Inset image: wiki/British Museum

STAPLES OF THE TIBETAN DIET, TIBET, C.7TH CENTURY – PRESENT

According to legend, tea first arrived in Tibet after trade routes with China were opened up, following the marriage of Tang dynasty Princess Wencheng to Tibetan King Songtsen Gampo in 641. Adding yak butter to the tea adds crucial calories and makes it a great source of energy for Tibetans, helping them to cope with cold weather in the winter and the high altitude of the region. Tsampa, usually served alongside butter tea, has been eaten for over a thousand years in Tibet and the rest of the Himalayas. Made with barley flour, it can either be made into dough balls or mixed with some butter tea to make a porridge. Although butter tea is traditionally made with tea bricks and yak butter, it's harder to find these ingredients in the West, so we have included substitutes in this recipe.

METHOD

01 To begin, if you have chosen to use pearl barley grains for the tsampa, they need to be roasted and ground into a flour. Traditionally, the barley is roasted in either sand or coarse sea salt, so you can use these if you wish but it is not essential.

02 Add the barley to a large wok or cast-iron pan (with the sand or sea salt if you want to use them) and toss for about 10 to 15 minutes until the grains are golden brown.

03 Take the barley off of the heat and sift it to remove the sand or sea salt if you used any. Leave the barley to cool completely.

04 Once the barley has cooled, grind it into a fine flour using either a flour or coffee grinder, or even a food processor. Put the barley flour in an airtight container.

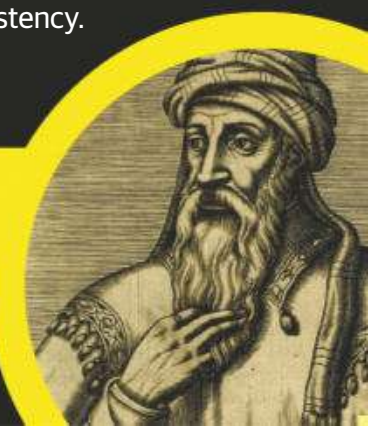
05 Now for the butter tea. Place a saucepan on the hob and add in the water. Bring to the boil, add in your loose leaf tea or tea bags and leave to simmer for five minutes.

06 Next, strain the mixture if you used loose leaf tea or remove the tea bags. Carefully pour the tea into a blender, add in the butter, salt and milk and blend well. Transfer the butter tea into a teapot to serve.

07 For the tsampa, put some barley flour in a small bowl and pour in a little bit of the butter tea. Using your hands, combine the mixture until it forms into a dough ball and then eat it alongside your tea.

08 If you would prefer to try tsampa as a porridge, simply mix more butter tea with the barley flour until you get your ideal consistency.

NEXT MONTH SALADIN: RISE OF THE FIRST SULTAN ON SALE 25 MAR



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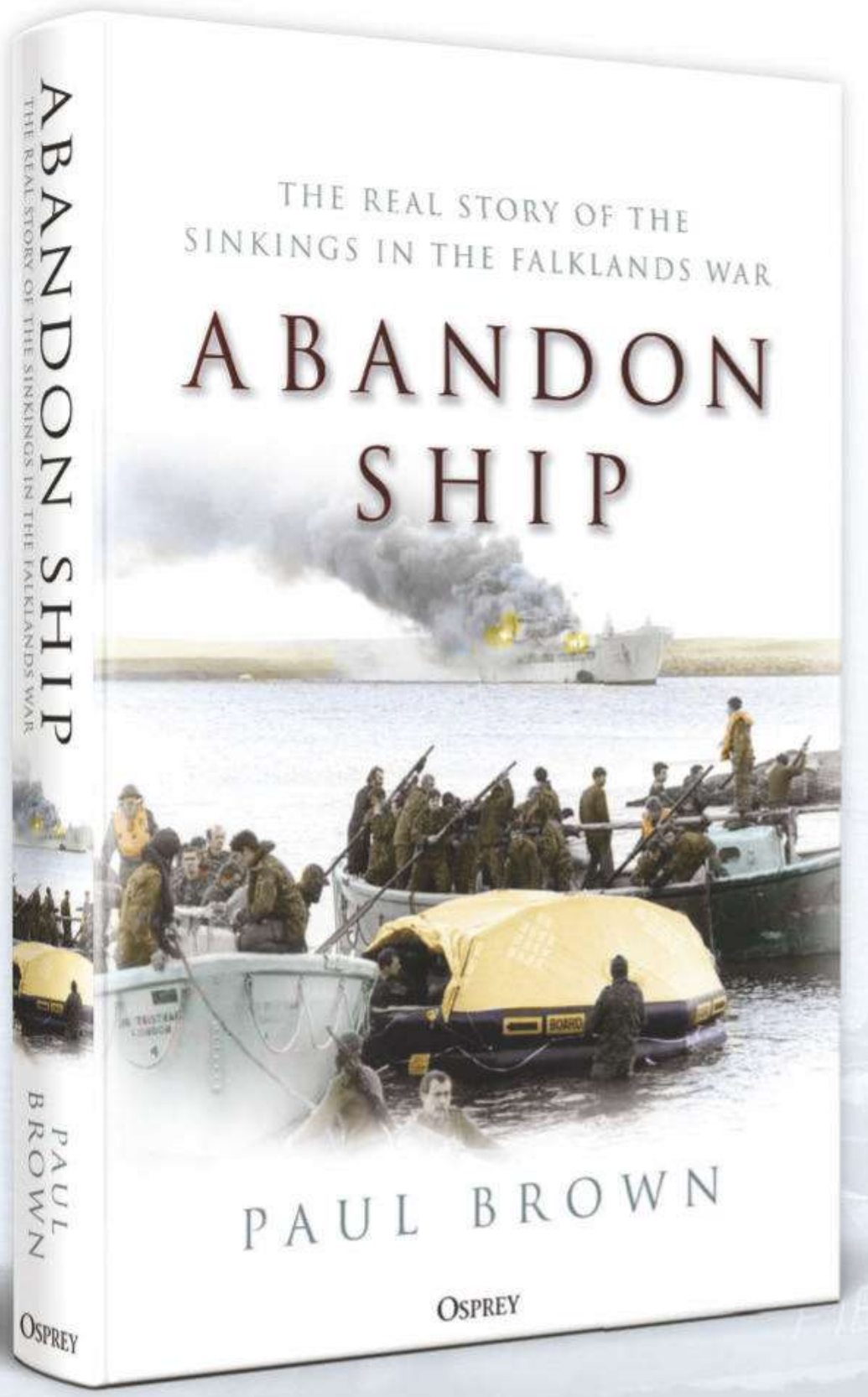

ABANDON SHIP

BY PAUL BROWN

NEARLY 40 YEARS AFTER THE EVENTS OF THE CONFLICT, THE FULL STORY CAN BE TOLD FOR THE FIRST TIME.

Drawing from recently declassified and previously unpublished reports, Dr Paul Brown details the true story behind the dramatic events of the Falklands War that led to the loss of six British ships – HMS *Antelope, Ardent, Coventry* and *Sheffield,* RFA *Sir Galahad* and SS *Atlantic Conveyor* – as well as the controversial sinking of the Argentinian cruiser *General Belgrano* by HMS *Conqueror*.

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